California and the emergence of lifestyle: self-help, tourism, and Los Angeles 1880-1915

California and the Emergence of Lifestyle: Self-help, Tourism, and Los Angeles 1880-1915

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Acknowledgements

At the end of this project there is great satisfaction in looking back on the people and communities that have inspired my thinking, challenged my assumptions, and supported this long and involved process. I first want to acknowledge and thank The London Consortium and the School of Arts at Birkbeck, University of London. Renée Olivel provided the steady hand of regular administrative support. Esther Leslie, Ben Cranfield, Luisa Calè, and Joe Brooker each provided personal and institutional support and encouragement during various stages of this project.

I am grateful to the libraries and research institutions that provided the places of study and research materials that were the grist of this dissertation; in London, I would like to thank Birkbeck Library, UCL Architecture Library, SOAS Library, the Wellcome Collection, The British Library, and the City of London Libraries. The Senate House Library deserves special note for providing a site for writing and research for much of this work. In California, I am grateful to the research librarians at The Autry Museum of the American West and The Huntington Library and Gardens.

The intellectual inspiration for this work finds its origins at The London Consortium. I am grateful to Steven Connor for providing guidance and supervision during the early stages of this project. I am forever grateful to the tutors of The London Consortium, in particular Parveen Adams and Mark Cousins. The London Consortium nurtured a number of fellow travellers without whom this journey would not be possible. I would like to thank Ross Exo Adams, Joey Rubin, Tim Ivison, Tom Vandeputte, Jake Reeder, Rebecca Wright, and Andrea Vesentini for their intellectual generosity and critical rigour.

In ways too varied to recount, Joana Rafael, Tom Upchurch, Tom Mackenzie-Burrows, Kristina Leonnet, Jason Creasey, and the Stirling family helped support and nurture this work during my time working in London. Michael Winetsky, Benjamin Lenzner, Samuel Ostrow, Annie Gwynne-Vaughan, and Riah Buchanan have individually maintained belief in this project over many years; their support has been of immeasurable value.

I am deeply grateful to my supervisors for this project. I am thankful to Barry Curtis for innumerable lunch meetings, and drafts and emails. Barry's depth of wisdom and intellectual breadth was an unending source of inspiration and support. This work would not be at all possible without the guidance and mentorship of Barbara Penner. Barbara's belief in this work, guidance in research, and patient critical eye during the writing and drafting has been an invaluable constant throughout this project- thank you.

Lauren Gersick, Danilo Mandic, Jane Zirpoli, and Emma Stirling gave their time and attention to various drafts of this project. I am forever grateful to their thoughtful, loving comments and suggestions.

My family has been a steady and regular support. I am forever grateful to my mother, Ana Gonzalez-Lane. Thanks to Timothy Gonzalez-Crane, Simon Crane, Margret Maker, and Brooke Bassett for a lifetime of belief and encouragement. Thank you to Joan Lane for her support of this research. A special thank you to Ralph Lane III for his support and intellectual encouragement. Nothing would be possible without the love and inspiration from my partner, Emma Stirling. This dissertation is dedicated to my father, Tom Crane.

Abstract

This dissertation traces the emergence of 'lifestyle' – a self-curated life experience – in California in the period between 1880-1915. Lifestyle emerged at the end of the nineteenth century: following Michel Foucault, this dissertation argues that it constituted a powerful new means for the management and presentation of the self. This dissertation suggests that lifestyle manifested in California in its most evident forms.

Each chapter unfolds through an analysis of primary texts and photography. Chapter 1 traces the emergence of lifestyle through self-help literature, consumerism and ideas about the production of the self. Chapter 2 compares narratives of experience in Yosemite Valley through three interrelated works: John Muir's *My first Summer in the Sierra* (1911), J. M. Hutchings's *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (1868) and Therese Yelverton's *Zanita: A Tale of the Yo-Semite* (1872).

Chapter 3 examines the editor and writer Charles Lummis and his home 'El Alisal'. This chapter traces the role of Lummis, his magazine 'The Land of Sunshine' (1895-1900), the building of his home El Alisal, and his photographic collection, in shaping and defining particular literary, economic and architectural vernaculars of late 19th century Los Angeles. Chapter 4 focuses on the rapid growth of Pasadena and the emergence of lifestyle in relation to the diaries and photographs of early tourists as well as the promotional literature of George Wharton James.

The dissertation concludes that California in 1880-1915 was an exemplary site wherein lifestyle materialised and became a defining feature of the cultural landscape. Through this, the dissertation argues that the unique combination of rapid urban development, wealth and geography in Southern California gave rise to the origins of what I term deliberate culture: a model of lifestyle that is performed through a self-constructed duality of narrative and experience.

List of Contents

List of Images

Figure 26 - page 186
Photograph of Rosendo Uruchurtu playing guitar and using a wax cylinder recorder at El Alisal. By Charles F. Lummis. 1904.

Figure 27 - page 196
Photograph of "Mrs Best : Mrs Vandever : Miss Ellis." In album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California*. 1908-1909.

Figure 28 - page 196
Photograph of "Miss Weh : Mrs Pat : Grace : Miss Sterret : Miss Homet : E. H. Ruth." In album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California*. 1908-1909.

Figure 29 - page 197
Photograph of "Our third home : 44 South Orange Tree Grove Avenue : Pasadena." In album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* 1908-1909.

Figure 30 - page 197
Photograph of "Mrs. Condit, Mrs. Phillips and Vance." In album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* 1908-1909.

Figure 31 - page 199
Photograph of 1909 Tournament of Roses in album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.*

Figure 32 - page 200
Photograph of 1909 Tournament of Roses in album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.*

Figure 33 - page 200
Photograph of 1909 Tournament of Roses in album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.*

Figure 34 - page 201
Postcard of children with flowers in a cart for The Tournament of Roses. 1897.

Figure 35 - page 203
"F. H. and L. M. : Us and L. M." Photograph in album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* 1908-1909.

Figure 36 - page 204
"Katie and Bessie : F. H. and Lovely Mary." Photograph in album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* 1908-1909.

Figure 37 - page 204
"Harriet Morris." Photograph in album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* 1908-1909.

Figure 38 - page 206
“E on Mount Lowe : The Incline.” Photograph in album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* 1908-1909.

Figure 39 - page 206
“On Mount Lowe.” Photograph in album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* 1908-1909.

Figure 40 - page 207
“On Mount Lowe.” Photograph in album *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* 1908-1909.

Figure 41 - page 213
Photograph of leather-bound diary written by Carrie Call. 1886.

Figure 42 - page 214
Photograph of diary page illustrated by Carrie Call. 1886.

Figure 43 - page 217
Photograph of diary page written by Carrie Call. 1886.

Figure 44 - page 223
Photograph of diary page written by Carrie Call. 1886.

Figure 45 - page 225
Photograph of article cover: “The Influence of the Climate of California upon its Literature.” By George Wharton James. 1922.

Figure 46 - page 226
Photograph of article frontispiece: “The Influence of the Climate of California upon its Literature.” By George Wharton James. 1922.

Figure 47 - page 227
Photograph of article first page: “The Influence of the Climate of California upon its Literature.” By George Wharton James. 1922.

Introduction

In 1971, Reyner Banham published *Los Angeles: Architecture of Four Ecologies.* One year later he produced an hour-long documentary titled "Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles" for the BBC (BBC Films, dir. Julian Cooper, 1972). Both the book and the film aim to describe what Banham terms "the total artefact that constitutes Greater Los Angeles." While Banham was primarily an architecture critic and historian with broad and wide ranging interests, his work on Los Angeles is notable both for its roaming, mobile complex structure and also for his attention to the people who inhabit Los Angeles. He explores the private fantasies and guiding principles that animate vernacular design vocabularies, such as Spanish Colonial Revival, as well as the subcultures that populated Los Angeles in the early 1970s. Anthony Vidler, who wrote the introduction to a recent reprint of *Los Angeles*, describes Banham's idiosyncratic critical approach as articulating "the meaning of objects in space that goes far beyond the architectural, the urban, the regional, to engage the phenomenology of experience itself." (Vidler in Banham [1971] 2001, xxxii). In both *Los Angeles* and the documentary film "Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles", Banham's interest in this relationship between design and experience infuses the works with a highly ethnographic flourish. His curiosity about the people of Los Angeles and their histories, fantasies, and preoccupations is interspersed throughout his explications on architecture and design. On that account, Banham is deeply interested in the cultural milieu that preceded and gave context to the development of these regional design practices — practices that span the gambit from established architectural styles to the intensely personal design practices of subcultural communities, such as those around body

building or surfing. In this dissertation I aim to tell the prehistory of Banham's Californians, to trace the emergence of lifestyle in California in the period 1880-1915.

Today California is so often associated with the term *lifestyle* that it would seem the place and concept have some kind of natural affinity. Lifestyle as a term and a concept is slippery. Lifestyle is a phenomenon that is historically contingent and this analysis aims to understand lifestyle in its particular emergence in California between 1880-1915, and how California became an exemplary site out of which lifestyle as a mode of self definition emerged. This particular understanding of lifestyle is relevant in a contemporary cultural context because California's substantial cultural output finds its epistemological foundations in the closure of the frontier and the development of urban Los Angeles. Myths endure about California self-fashioning a utopia at the intersection of desert and golden hillside. El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles, the nascent pueblo, only hinted at the rechristened twentieth century emblem of modern self-invention for which Los Angeles stands.

The history of Los Angeles at the turn of the twentieth century is, in part, a story of white Midwesterners following the road west to El Dorado. To arrive at Los Angeles' parched but fertile shores is to continue their journeys, but now the focus is inward, as they set out on a private exploration of the self. While this exploration of the self is by definition personal and introspective, it can also be seen as performative — in constant, self-conscious conversation with the environment. Robert M. Fogelson, in his often quoted 1969 classic *Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles 1850-1930* (1993), traces various institutional and infrastructural influences on the development of Los Angeles. Even though Fogelson writes a work of quite traditional urban history, he ends it much as Banham does, with a final assessment of the fantasies and dreams of these white

migrants. For Fogelson, the major motivating force behind the development of Los Angeles during this period was the combined efforts of these Anglo-migrants in the development of their own private vision of the good life (Fogelson 1993, 276). I will quote Fogelson at length because his description of the populace of Los Angeles as simultaneously exceptional and complicit with national cultural currents speaks directly to why California during this period is the focus of this. Fogelson writes:

> They were not economic or social radicals; actually they were quite conservative in their outlook…it was rather that they refined traditional American virtues in such a way that they reached a conclusion about the purpose of life which differed from those held by earlier generations. For these people…wealth was less a measure of achievement than a means to, in Ralph Waldo Trine's words 'the legitimate comforts of life'…work was honorable not as a prerequisite for spiritual or even financial salvation but as a way to self-realisation and emotional gratification. (Fogelson 1993, 74)

In this passage Fogelson homes in on what I term the emergence of a *California Lifestyle*, a concept that involves the redefinition of traditional virtues - the protestant work ethic and its spiritual and financial rewards – into a set of inner operations aimed at achieving the "legitimate comforts of life". I will trace lifestyle as a phenomenon that emerged to encompass both inner work on the self and public representations of this private labour. In California, self-realisation and emotional gratification became the criteria by which one assesses value and worth in one's life. Consumption became intimately linked with ideas around the care and management of the self. Additionally, as a somewhat paradoxical result of this inward turn, public performance of a well-tuned and harmonious inner-self became the outer measure of a successful life. As I will show in Chapter 1, many of the ideas around self-help and self-realisation, while cultivated in California, found traction on a national level. Self-help and the mind-cure movement had both national and international currents. California is exceptional in that

these concepts found exemplary manifestation in the tourism of the newly tamed American West and the development of urban Los Angeles between 1880-1915.

It is not simply the emergence of lifestyle that is the focus of this dissertation, but rather the mass uptake of lifestyle as a primary index for the formation of personal and public selves in twentieth century America. The first chapter will demonstrate how this particular narrative about the self--as both a regenerative inner self and a mediated public self--gave rise to growing preoccupation with personality as the frame in which to build one's private and public self. This, however, only provided an abstract and interior scaffold upon which personal habits and personality traits could be applied. As the American psychologist and philosopher William James was clear to demonstrate in his 1907 self-help book *The Energies of Men* this was a bespoke procedure. Even in the examples that he offers, however, individuals embrace particular collective narratives each with their own degree of institutional grounding. Some of these narratives, such as those surrounding twentieth century self-help literature, borrowed freely from medical, spiritual and political practice in order to fashion seemingly heuristic approaches to personal development. More often than not however, these practices existed within pre-established belief systems that were almost always complimented by attendant commercial interests. Ideas were adopted through the consumption and curation of products, practices and spaces. The intersection between the development of personality and the rise of consumer culture is the space where lifestyle, as it is understood and internalised today, was formed and maintained. In early twentieth century California, the consumption of touristic experiences, for example, demonstrated the ways that space/place, narrative, and material culture were first chosen and then consumed in tandem with each other.

In *Los Angeles,* Banham writes that "the Pacific beaches are where young men stop going west, where great waves of agrarian migration from Europe and the Middle West broke in a surf of fulfilled and frustrated hopes" (Banham 2001, 6). Los Angeles is seen as the final overland repository for "the prejudices, motivations, and ambitions of the central heartland of the USA" (Banham 2001, 7). Once arrived, as migrants or tourists, those overland travelers were sold a Los Angeles that promised to be "a reasonable facsimile of Eden" (Banham 2001, 7). Between 1880 and 1890 the population of Los Angeles increased from 11,183 to 50,935 (Fogelson 1993, 67). Ranches were sold off, subdivided into small residential plots, and sold to these new arrivals. As William McClung points out in his cultural history *Landscape of Desire: Anglo Mythologies of Los Angeles* (2000), "the mythologies that govern LA are primarily Arcadian" but the landscape requires a "utopian commitment" (McClung 2000, 14) in order to manage the limited water supplies, constant sunshine, and persistent boosterism that defined the area. The narrative of this thesis foregrounds such a discrepancy between "fulfilled and frustrated hopes" (Banham 2001, 6) and how lifestyle emerged out of the interplay between the two.

Before Hollywood, the history of Los Angeles is a history of private residential plots and the transportation links that grew up to serve these new neighbourhoods. More often than not those involved in real estate development were also involved in developing the transportation links into the city centre. At the end of his book on Los Angeles, Banham declares "if there has to be a mechanistic interpretation, then it must be that automobile and architecture alike are the products of the Pacific Electric Railroad as a way of life" (Banham 2001, 220). He then goes on to say that this misses the point and that the railroad, the automobile and the private urbanism they represent

are part of a dream; a dream he traces from Monticello through to Palladio and the Medicis. Los Angeles, he writes, is a "potent current version" of "the good life in the tamed countryside" (Banham 2001, 220). Indeed, here Banham is pointing out that while Southern California is exceptional within a particular historical context of modern cultural development and with its particular architectural manifestations, perhaps more significantly it is also an example of a much older mythology of *the good life* that can trace its routes "to the squalor of the European type of city" (Banham 2001, 220). This is key to understanding why Southern California became the ideal site for the emergence of lifestyle to flourish. For that reason, I argue here that California is more exemplary than it is exceptional in its attempt to realise the good life. While other people in other places at other times have participated in a similar complex of personal and public operations involving work on the self, California's short history within Anglo-American cultural development and current position of cultural ascendence marks it out as a site of special consideration.

In recent years, the influence of California design practices on the global market has opened up its cultural terrain for renewed analysis. This recent and sustained search for California's cultural creation myth has been widely stratified and distributed amongst a diverse range of cultural practitioners. From leftist television producers including Adam Curtis, to technology evangelists such as Kevin Kelly and most recently architectural historians like Simon Sadler, there has been a renewed and sustained interest in what are often described as the 'obscured' ideologies that haunt the commercial, material, and mass marketed manifestations of California design practice, including Silicon Valley's pioneering tech industry. In interrogations of California culture ranging from an analysis of TED talks to uncovering the ideologies that unify

iPhones and ballistic missile development, most attention has rightly been given to the Buckminster Fulleresque utopian instrumentalisation of science in the 1950's and to California's 1960's counter-culture. However, with the exception of the perfunctory nod to the Gold Rush as establishing the reigning economic paradigm of risk, failure and heroic triumph, less attention has been given to older and alternative California cultural myths that speak to a connection to the land, travel, tourism and residence, as well as to a radical reconstitution of the subject/ individual as a self-curated network of aesthetic gestures, narratives, and commodities. In what can be seen as a related discourse to this renewed cultural archeology of California's past, the contemporary canon of California historians, including the likes of Kevin Starr, Mike Davis, and Laurence Culver, has each to varying degrees commented on the ways that a uniquely self-conscious method of living in Southern California was embodied and practiced by a generation of white Anglo-Americans between 1880-1915. The work of these historians offers a lens through which deliberate culture in California can be traced from today back to its origins in 1880-1915. I argue that literature and photography from this period are not only a useful illustration of this self-conscious way of living, but also that they can be seen as critical and performative manifestations of deliberate culture.

In this thesis I use the term *lifestyle* to mean a self-curated life experience that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. Following Michel Foucault, I argue that lifestyle constituted a powerful new means for the management and presentation of the self. The term *lifestyle*, although anachronistic to the period, helps illuminate the emergence of Californian popular culture as an integrated, individuated and commercial manifestation. The integration of the spheres of labour, leisure and the domestic into a single cohesive aesthetic gesture marks out cultural change in California as predictive of

larger national trends. California's current cultural influence can be traced to the belief established in this earlier period that one can curate a total life experience. Narratives that usually frame experience become central to that very experience. Culture no longer stands outside the individual to be consumed or critiqued but becomes a manifest product of the successful individualised performance of particular prescribed narratives. This practice requires both new forms of inner-work and new performative frames. Taken together these can be seen as one's lifestyle. For that reason, each chapter in this dissertation addresses the relationship between new forms of self address and the performative frames that sustain these narratives. Such an approach allows for the thesis to be primarily concerned with, and therefore question, the ascendance of lifestyle as our primary system of management for self-reflection and self-care.

While there has been research into the histories of lifestyle, self help, and tourism in the field of American Studies, I seek to explore how these processes coalesced in California in 1880-1915 to emerge as what I call *deliberate culture*. I propose to explore this in relation to specific places and actors, and show how these formative trends touched down and were nurtured in and by them. This thesis seeks to answer the following research questions: How do emerging conceptions of self-help and self-management around the turn of the century intersect with the emergence of lifestyle? How did early tourism in Yosemite shape the way in which narrative and experience form part of lifestyle? Why was Los Angeles a traceable site in which deliberate culture materialised in tandem with the city's development? Ultimately this thesis seeks to track the origins of this self-curated life experience.

The methodology of this thesis will follow a logic of scale, moving through Yosemite, Pasadena, and Los Angeles via specific people's perspectives and

experiences. I will look at case studies of original material including diaries, letters, photographs, postcards, articles and guidebooks from 1880-1915. I will approach these works in the spirit in which they were created; considering both their form and content as being in a critical and creative dialogue with the cultural context in which they were created. I will explore this context through the work of philosophers and cultural historians starting with Foucault's work on the self while he was living in Berkeley, California towards the end of his life. I will also consider the works of William James and Annie Payson Call in relation to the production of the self.

The thesis is structured into four chapters. The first chapter of this project, titled "The Emergence of Lifestyle: Self-Help, Consumerism and the Production of the Self" argues that *lifestyle* emerged at the end of the nineteenth century as a popular new mode of self-reflection. It elabourates and draws on the ideas of Foucault. In the last phase of his prodigious career, Foucault began to establish a history of self-regard or self-care. In a number of essays and interviews, culminating in the third volume of *The History of Sexuality: The Care of the Self* (1984), he writes a careful genealogy of self-care following it from the ancient Greeks through to the early Christians, from self-indulgence, through responsibility to the self, to renunciation of the self. I propose to follow the implementation of Foucault's notion of self-care in a Californian setting by considering the rise of self-help literature, a non-fiction literary genre that emerged in England and America during the nineteenth century. This 'history' of self-help moves from Samuel Smiles in England and the development of one's moral character, to Warren Susman's descriptions of the production of personality in America. To understand the latter development, this American version of self-help should also be understood as intimately bound up with the values that found particular traction in

America during the first ten years of the twentieth century. This first chapter argues that consumerism, and the self-awareness of the consumer as a consumer, were concomitant with the popularity of self-help literature during this period. This model of personal development came to be defined by the interdependence and harmonising between the inner life of the individual with the outward stylisation of the self through lifestyle. As this chapter demonstrates, the maintenance and administration of a particular lifestyle then becomes both the primary means of self-reflection as well as the regulating aesthetic posture through which a broad range of activities, behaviours, values and attitudes are both modulated and holistically integrated into one's self-conception.

Following this examination of the impact that early self-help had on the emergence of lifestyle, the dissertation will put forward the argument that lifestyle became a mode of self-reflection to the realms of tourism in California. I argue that early tourism was closely tied to this notion of self-reflection, and that California during this period offered the ideal conditions within which a tourist might enact processes of self-reflection and by extension, manifest a lifestyle. Chapter 2, titled "Negotiation: Narratives and Experience in Yosemite Valley," is about the literature of tourism in the American West in the late nineteenth century with a specific focus on Yosemite. The completion of the major transcontinental railroads lines between 1869 and 1873 brought about dramatic changes to both the experience and representation of the American West. As tourists, artists and retirees began to replace miners, pioneers, and military men, new representational frames were introduced. The production of place took both a performative and residential turn as tourists sought to experience the American West through an increasingly codified set of literary narratives, scopic regimes and architectural vernaculars. In the American West, the rise of tourism was predicated on

an experience of wilderness. However there was often a discrepancy between the experience of the West, as an expansive, largely unsettled (by Europeans) territory, and its representations in literature, guidebooks and cultural ephemera. This gap between representations of place and the lived experience of place provided the productive tension for the establishment of the American West as a tourist destination. I argue that if a place coincides too neatly with its representations, then there is no perceptual space wherein a tourist can access their subjective experience of it. Conversely, if a place varies too much from its representations then it becomes a wilderness, viewed as a land beyond representation.

Early tourism in the Yosemite Valley serves as a guidebook to certain operations of self-reflection and representation that would become the generative forces behind the development of a residential lifestyle in early Los Angeles. Tourism provides a kind of enacted, performed representation of operations of inner-work that I will describe in Chapter 1. Yosemite, with its special status as both park and wilderness, a claim which it makes to this day, is the ideal stage for this moment in the cultural history of nature tourism. Similarly, the parallel development of Los Angeles as a densely populated metropolis and the emergence of our contemporary idea of lifestyle allows us to trace what is otherwise a diffuse, fluid, polyvalent cultural phenomena through the material development of an urban area over a brief period of time. The rapid urban development of Los Angeles at the moment that lifestyle became a generative cultural phenomena gives Los Angeles a unique status as the premier cultural artefact for a set of beliefs and ideas that have become so embedded in our contemporary consciousness as to be almost invisible.

In Chapter 2 the reader will get to know the tourist-self through three interrelated works: John Muir's *My first Summer in the Sierra* (1911), J. M. Hutchings's *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (1862), and Theresa Yelverton's *Zanita: A Tale of the Yo-Semite* (1872). This chapter will examine the tourist as a particular social construction whose existence is dependent on the oscillation between and perpetual negotiation of narrative and experience. Chapter 2 focuses on three interpenetrating narratives about traveling and touring in and around Yosemite, in order to examine the narrative frames that establish the horizon of experience and expectation for the traveller and the tourist. The tourist experience exists at the intersection between individual experience and mass consumption. As such, the tourist experience becomes a model for the development of a particular form of conceptualising an inner-self, capable both of self-reflection and representation in a manner that becomes fundamental to lifestyle.

From these tourist experiences of lifestyle, I will touchdown in Los Angeles, to develop my argument that California provided a unique context through which individuals could enact deliberate culture. In the third chapter titled "Deliberate Culture: Charles Lummis, Pasadena and *The Land of Sunshine"*, I will focus on Charles Fletcher Lummis (1859-1928). In moving towards an understanding of deliberate culture that is critically engaged with its own performance, I argue that Charles Lummis encapsulates the duality of narrative and experience that is central to the emergence of lifestyle. During his life in Los Angeles, Charles Lummis was a journalist, ethnographer, archeologist, anthropologist, librarian, author and amateur architect. As such, Lummis helped to develop a regional literature that generated its own fantasies, while conscientiously endorsing the benefits of the lived experience of Southern California.

With his monomaniacal interest in both the geography and cultures of the Southwest, Charles Lummis attempted to build a lifestyle around Southwestern ideas and aesthetics. This Southwestern lifestyle was a purposefully constructed interface between spiritual, sartorial, architectural, literary, and therapeutic elements, making Lummis the ideal subject to consider when attempting to understand the emergence of lifestyle in this period.

I will begin by setting the cultural scene for Lummis's arrival. This chapter first looks at the cultural development of residential Los Angeles by closely examining the development of two adjacent neighbouring enclaves; Pasadena and The Arroyo Seco. Growing together, these two sites give insight into various overlapping narratives that motivated the development of the region. Tracing Pasadena from a high end tourist destination to a residential community will connect the tourist narratives of the previous chapter with the narratives of residential idyll on display in early Pasadena. Land and its value, as symbol and material commodity, was the primary source of economic development. I will then focus more directly on Charles Lummis's work. Through his magazine *The Land of Sunshine* (1895-1900), his house El Alisal, and his immense personal photographic and wax cylinder recording collection, he helped to shape particular literary, economic and architectural vernaculars of late nineteenth century Los Angeles. Perhaps more significantly, in taking a key role in highlighting these vernaculars, Lummis can be seen as the personification not only of the ideals that shaped Los Angeles as a brand, but also of the ongoing and intentional work that must go into these ideals. In his lifelong attention to self-improvement and to shaping his environment, Lummis lived out a lifestyle which was defined by its symbiosis between the self and the environment.

Chapter 4 will stay in Pasadena, and will take a closer look at the development of the region as a whole. Throughout Los Angeles, I argue that Pasadena's rapid growth during the period 1880-1915 makes it a particularly illuminating site through which to trace the materialisation of lifestyle. From citrus cultivation, to a hotel town, to wealthy city in Los Angeles, Pasadena's development happened in tandem with the emergence of lifestyle. I will look at a series of case studies in order to approach the duality of this development, including the diaries of tourists Amy Bridges and Carrie Call while they were travelling to, and staying in Pasadena, as well as articles and letters about the region written by leading figures in Pasadena including the naturalist John Muir and the journalist George Wharton James. I will also incorporate photographs taken by residents and visitors to the town during this period, that reveal the ways in which inhabitants engaged with and narrated their experiences of Pasadena and its growth. This chapter will seek to arrive at an understanding of deliberate culture that is rooted in the interlinked relationship between self-development and place-making.

These chapters trace the emergence of a lifestyle in California from their conceptual beginnings in ideas about the potential towards self-improvement through to specific locations: Yosemite, Los Angeles, and Pasadena, where these impulses became materially manifest. Tourism in Yosemite makes the negotiation between experience and narrative the required labour of the tourist. With his relentless integration of various spheres of life into a harmonious curated whole, Charles Lummis serves as a useful model for understanding the ways that lifestyle remains a particularly contemporary mode of self-reflection. Reyner Banham's conception of Los Angeles as a "total artefact" (i.e. a complete and measurable object) is a useful starting point for this investigation. Indeed in the play between heterogenity and homogenity we can see the

emergence of the individual self through obedience to collectively determined aesthetic gestures. It is in this integration of various spheres of life (including labour, leisure and the domestic) that Banham conceives of Los Angeles as a total artefact. Ultimately I seek to move towards an understanding of Californian deliberate culture as defined by the inter-folding, transitive processes that continue to shape the area and its inhabitants.

Chapter One

The Emergence of Lifestyle: Self-Help, Consumerism and the Production of the Self

This chapter argues that 'lifestyle' emerged at the end of the nineteenth century as a popular new mode of self-reflection. Lifestyle at its most basic is a means for the management and presentation of the self. This maintenance and administration of a particular lifestyle then becomes both the primary means of self-reflection as well as the regulating aesthetic posture through which a broad range of activities, behaviours, values and attitudes are modulated. As I will explore in the writings of Warren Susman, T. J. Jackson Lears and Jefferson Pooley, one can find evidence for the emergence of a new modal type of self-reflection in the shifts within the genre of self-help literature as well as in the development and promotion of once rural areas into urban real-estate bonanzas such as in Southern California.

It has been argued, for instance in Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (1980), that people had a variety of lifestyles well before the late nineteenth-early twentieth century. In England, the Georgian and Victorian bourgeoisie certainly were the inheritors of the Renaissance tendency for a self-conscious representation. The specific entry in *Mind Journal,* as well as surveys of other words that entered the OED via *Mind Journal* around this time, link the word *lifestyle* to a renewed interest in concepts surrounding care for the self through a process of self-realisation. Apparently there was a need for a word to describe a new set of narratives about the construction of the self. In tandem with the concept of personality, lifestyle became the primary means through which consumer culture was both experienced and articulated by the individual. Personal identity quickly became embedded within and

dependent upon the rapidly developing consumer culture. In this chapter I will consider the origins of the term lifestyle; mid nineteenth conceptions of the self and selfhood; and finally the connection between health, self-fashioning and American Religious Life.

What is Lifestyle?

As well as the word *lifestyle*, such words and phrases as *human resources, narcissistic* and *consumerism* also entered the OED in 1915. Together this cluster of words speaks to a newly emergent form of self-conception that was linked to a free market that was shifting its focus from the administration of production to the management of consumption. Indeed each of these new words seeks to simultaneously exalt and diminish the individual within a larger group. The uniqueness of the individual is promoted through the guise of consumer choice while simultaneously being slotted into an increasingly diminishing set of consumption narratives. As Jefferson Pooley writes in *The Consuming Self: From Flappers to Facebook* "a spirit of self-fulfillment…was not confined to consumption as such but found expression across a range of twentieth century cultural phenomenon: in pop psychology, liberal protestantism, entertainment media, celebrity worship and self-help literature" (Pooley 2010, 74). Consumerism emerged not simply as a generalising noun denoting the actions of a consumer, but also as a way of establishing the rights of the consumer – thus recognising the consumer as an individual with certain claimable rights. *Narcissistic* is another example of a word that entered the English language in 1915, and contains the double demand to both "promote oneself, but crucially as an attractive and sincere being" (Pooley, 2010, 78). *Narcissistic* as opposed to Narcissism activates the rather plodding noun - giving it life as a condition of being that is often associated with

another word central to the emergence of lifestyle - *Personality*. The idea that one could have a narcissistic personality points directly to the double obligation to "both find ourselves but at the same time work on ourselves" (Pooley, 2010, 78).

Meanwhile, *lifestyle* is defined by the OED as "a style or way of living (associated with an individual person, a society, etc.); esp. the characteristic manner in which a person lives (or chooses to live) his or her life". Other definitions for *lifestyle* are also given; most of them are elabourations on the original term. Two things are striking about the OED's definition. First that lifestyle can be associated with an individual or a group, and can therefore be used as a marker of recognition and communality. Second, that lifestyle can be either inadvertent or deliberate, meaning that all people live a lifestyle, and also that a person can choose to live a certain lifestyle and therefore identify his or her self as belonging to a certain society or group. Conversely, another definition is given by Alfred Adler, a prominent American social psychologist famous for his introduction of the *inferiority complex*, who in 1929 used the term lifestyle in a very technical sense "to describe a person's essential character structure as established early in childhood" (Adler in Anthony Elliott's *Concepts of the Self,* 2001, 7). This definition posits an "essential character structure", downplaying the performative and elective nature of lifestyle as articulated in the OED definition, and places the creation of lifestyle in one's environment rather than in one's own hands. I argue that this tension between lifestyle's essential and elective aspects is central to the concept itself. By the 1950s, this tension had become part of the social consciousness in California, when a direct link was made to self-help with the emergence of terms such as 'lifestyle group' and 'lifestyle options', making it an explicitly elective practice.

In the 1960s the term was deployed by advertisers both to understand and redefine their consumer markets. This gave rise to *lifestyle magazines*, *lifestyle marketing* and most important to our current understanding of lifestyle, *lifestyle branding* (OED Online, 2016). The term *lifestyle* was used by advertisers and marketers because it had become an almost lazy shorthand for the relationship between the individual and larger cultural trends. Indeed, it is notable that the term developed from Adler's essentialised definition into one that emphasised the pluralistic, dynamic and incorporative. Rather than being based on a series of traits and habits that were established in childhood, lifestyle became a complex series of markers denoting the multivalent and stratified techniques for the management of the consumer. Importantly, it also shifted emphatically towards a definition founded on active choice and self-identification. The potential for the term *lifestyle* to activate consumers as empowered decision-makers, particularly in terms of money spending, has made it an increasingly valuable concept that draws a direct link between consumer activity and self improvement.

Clearly the term *lifestyle* has rather twitchy beginnings in the English language, entering backstage left through Bernard Bosanquet's book review of German sociologist Emil Hammacher's 'Hauptfragen der modernen Kultur' (*Mind*, January 1915). Although the term can take on a variety of definitions and can serve a number of masters, *lifestyle* can be definitively linked to a number of other concepts that were emerging at the same time. Both *consumerism* and *personality* are consistently linked to the emergence of lifestyle. Through these three terms, *personality, consumerism,* and *lifestyle,* it is possible to articulate an emergence of new forms of conceiving of the self at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. Understanding these terms is not

only helpful in critical retrospect but was operative at the beginning of the twentieth century in helping people to develop new forms of self-reflection and new ways to understand themselves. Indeed this shift occurred through a complex and developing set of activities and behaviours that encapsulated the changing values and attitudes towards, among other things, the relationship between the individual and the group, the significance of inner work, the obsession with good health, and perhaps of most importance, the new obligation to help yourself be yourself.

This chapter will look at the self-help narrative in the first ten years of the twentieth century as a means to reveal the changing relationship between individuals and the ways they imagined themselves. New kinds of self-fashioning or self-styling are revealed through new kinds of instructional texts. Following some of Raymond Williams's thinking in his seminal work *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1976), the historian Warren Susman argues that self-help literature at the beginning of the twentieth century shifted from a preoccupation with character to a preoccupation with personality. By first looking at Foucault's theory of self-help, then briefly at Williams's entry on personality, and then at Susman's key arguments, we will see how the development of personality can help reveal the types of self reflection and self-styling that together would become *lifestyle*.

Foucault on Self Help

Now that I have outlined the term *lifestyle*, I would like to refer to Foucault's work to tell a particular story, or even a particular history, of the self. I am including this section because in the following narrative, Foucault's conception of the self bears a resemblance to the construction of the self that I will explore throughout the rest of the

dissertation. I will focus on an interview with Foucault and the subsequent analysis by the Foucault scholars Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow in Berkeley, California in 1983. I will refer to this interview and analysis as it appears in the afterword to their book *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983). In focusing on this interview and analysis, I am also going to briefly locate Foucault as a biographical self within a particular intellectual, geographic, and academic context.

The whole arch of Foucault's intellectual output can be somewhat neatly divided into three parts: in *The Foucault Reader,* Foucault himself reflects that "three domains of genealogy" (Foucault, 1984, 351) are possible when considering the narrative arch of his lifetime of genealogical diagnostics, and it is upon these three domains that his work can be mapped. The first is "a historical ontology of ourself in relation to truth through which we constitute ourselves as subjects of knowledge…second a historical ontology of ourselves in relation to fields of power…third, a historical ontology in relation to ethics through which we constitute ourselves as moral agents" (Foucault, 1984, 351). Foucault's intellectual output can be traced onto this schema with his work roughly dividing between genealogies of knowledge, power and the self. *The Order of Things* (1966) and *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1969) are very much both concerned with tracing a genealogy of knowledge. In contrast *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963) and *Discipline and Punish* (1975) most clearly demonstrate Foucault's interest in "fields of power" (Foucault, 1984, 351). Foucault's later works included the third volume of *The History of Sexuality* (1984). Foucault also outlines these divisions of his thought in *Technologies of the Self* (1988) a late work derived from a seminar he gave at the University of Vermont in 1982.

In an essay that is illuminating both for its brevity and clarity, Foucault uses a slightly different language and schema to his previous work. Nevertheless the essay tells a story about his intellectual output that is then echoed a year later in his seminal interview with Dreyfus and Rabinow. In *Technologies of the Self,* Foucault does not use the term genealogy, but rather writes of "technologies" or "truth-games" (Foucault 1988, 18). These "truth-games" or "technologies" are termed thus because they are "techniques that human beings use to understand themselves" (Foucault 1988, 18). The first two technologies that Foucault outlines are "technologies of production" and "technologies of sign systems" (18). I am more interested in the final two: "technologies of power and "technologies of the self". While Foucault concedes that these four technologies rarely function separately, he is clear that "it is the last two, the technologies of domination and self which have most kept my [his] attention. I have attempted a history of the organization of knowledge with respect to both domination and the self" (18). Foucault goes on to say that he has "perhaps insisted too much on the technology of domination and power" and that he is "more and more interested in the technologies of individual domination, the history of how an individual acts upon himself, the technology of the self" (19). This later and final interest of Foucault's stands somewhat aside from the whole arch of his previous work.

This late writing on 'the self' finds Foucault writing at his most impassioned, emotive and didactic. Where much of Foucault's earlier work is that of, to co-opt one of his terms "an attitude" (Foucault 1988, 18) of a cool, dispassionate diagnostician, the later work takes a very Nietzschean turn as he attempts to "undermine the Christian/ Freudian hermeneutic subject" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 254). In its place he puts a revised classical vision of life as a work of art. Foucault draws a clear binary opposition

between the Christian renunciation of the self and Greco-Roman care of the self. In an essay titled *About the Beginning of Hermeneutics of the Self: Two lectures at Dartmouth* (1993) Foucault clearly posits the Christian concept of the self. He writes that "the revelation of truth about oneself cannot be disassociated from the obligation to renounce oneself. We have to sacrifice the self in order to discover the truth about one's self, and we have to discover the truth about oneself in order to sacrifice ourself" (Foucault 1993, 221). In his more informal writings, his interviews and seminar writings, he makes clear that he is actively advocating a contemporary return to the classical culture of the self, where the self has "to be created as a work of art" (Foucault 1984, 362).

This aspect of Foucault's work has been drawn out almost humorously in Dreyfus and Rabinow's interview and essay at the end of *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (1983), titled 'Foucault's Interpretive Analytics of Ethics'. In this essay and in the interview that precedes it, both comprising the afterward to their book, one can sense both the skepticism and the process of Dreyfus and Rabinow searching for justification for such a thematic and methodological turn. Toward the start of the interview they ask Foucault, "So what kind of ethics can we build now…?" to which he replies: "What strikes me is the fact that in our society, art had become something which is related only to objects not to individuals or to life. That art is something which is specialized or which is done by experts who are artists. But couldn't everyone's life become a work of art?" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 236).

Foucault elabourates on this theme of the self as a work of art in various other later works including part two of the third volume of *The History of Sexuality: The Care of the Self.* In a chapter titled 'The Cultivation of the Self' Foucault gives various classical examples of self-mastery. From Seneca's letter writing to the rituals of the

Epicureans and the Stoics, Foucault mines the classical literature for a "cultivation of the self" (Foucault 1986, 43).

There is a tone of open skepticism for these ideas when Rabinow and Dreyfus say that "Foucault has become more and more interested in the fact that our society increasingly emphasize the formation of deep individual selves" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983, 253). They then go on to say, almost in a lament, that this has caused Foucault "to recast his project on sexuality" with his third book *The Care of the Self*, which "analyzes with great attention" the ways "the ancient worlds paid to care of the self" and their "techniques of self-mastery" (254). They add that this has "skewed Foucault's project in the direction of undermining the Christian/ Freudian hermeneutic subject." Dreyfus and Rabinow are somewhat pained by this "skewing" of Foucault's late project. According to Dreyfus and Rabinow "Foucault's focus on technologies of the self may have deflected concern from what his work has singled out as the even greater and longer ranging danger of Weberian Rationalization" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 254). They conclude somewhat hopefully that surely Foucault will "eventually have to return to a full scale analytics of bio-power" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 254). Indeed in their interview with Foucault they seem to openly challenge some of Foucault's more biased boosterism of Greek and Roman techniques of self-mastery. They ask Foucault, "In the name of what does one choose to impose this lifestyle upon oneself?" Foucault replies that "it is a choice about existence made by the individual…people decided for themselves whether or not to care for themselves" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 244).

For Foucault, an ethics founded on individual choice was a means to circumvent an ethics derived from civil, religious, or juridical obligation. He continues that we have seen a modern flourishing of this ethic of applying aesthetic values primarily to one's

life and one's existence only in brief flashes such as in the Renaissance, and "yet again in the nineteenth-century dandyism" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 245). Almost unbelieving of such an individualist turn in Foucault's thinking, Dreyfus and Rabinow ask, "isn't the Greek concern with the self just an early version of our self-absorption, which many consider a central problem in our society?" Foucault responds in a revealingly defensive manoeuvre that "the California Cult of the self" is in fact "diametrically opposed" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 245) to his own Greco-Roman culture of the self.

For Foucault, this "Californian cult of the self" is preoccupied with the discovery of "one's true self". In contrast Foucault advocates a process in which one is always "making one's life into an object for a sort of knowledge, or a *techne*—for an art." (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 245). In the classical world, according to Foucault, this process of self-mastery and self-care through mastery, took many forms "which included abstinences, memorizations, examinations of conscience, meditations, silence and listening to others" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 246-247). Most important in the classical world, however, was the role of writing. It is worth noting that this activity of self-care was one overwhich Foucault had achieved some degree of personal mastery. It was through writing and these other methods that Foucault saw "an ethic…oriented to the care of the self, towards definite objects such as retiring into oneself, reaching oneself, living with oneself…profiting by and enjoying oneself" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 245). These operations on the self through an art of living were the same foundation out of which the "Californian cult of the self" emerged. That Foucault himself saw his own technology of the self as diametrically opposed to this "Californian

cult of the self" owes much to the fact that Foucault was experiencing Californian lifestyle some eighty-years after its emergence in Berkeley, California.

Dreyfus and Rabinow chide Foucault with a gentle challenge to his call for a mastery of the self, "of course that kind of project is very common in places like Berkeley where people think that everything from the way they eat Breakfast, to the way they have sex, to the way they spend their day should be perfected" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 236). They are not wrong in challenging Foucault on this point. Foucault's conception of the self bears a number of resemblances to the concept of the self involved in the production and performance of lifestyle at the turn of the century, as I will explore in this dissertation.

Anthony Elliott states in *Concepts of the Self* (2001) that Foucault's 'individual' is "obsessively self-mastering". As I will show in Chapter 3, this concept of obsessive self-mastery is central to the daily labour of Charles Lummis's performance of the self. This is the craftsman ethic taken to an extreme degree. Elliott, who is deeply skeptical of the theoretical usefulness of Foucault's story of the self, offers another connection between Foucault's work and the scope of this dissertation. Elliott writes that "Foucault in turn makes technique, stylization and intensity of practice the key to the governing of selves" (Elliott 2011, 95). For Elliott, Foucault's arguments reveal themselves to be ultimately individualist and instrumentalist in their approach. This bears much in common with William James's approach to individual self-realisation; the tourists' dance between representation and experience; and Lummis's obsessive self-fashioning. Foucault's very desire to distinguish his work from the California phenomenon of lifestyle has exposed their affinities.

Dreyfus and Rabinow, in their vaguely desperate attempt to locate Foucault's interest in technologies of the self into a productive relationship with his earlier work on technologies of power, provide perhaps the most articulate expression of this affinity between Foucault's late writing on self and the emergence of lifestyle in California between 1880 and 1915. The rationalisation that Dreyfus and Rabinow conjure for Foucault's diversion into the study of the self rests in the search for a kind of self that could inoculate itself or have some in-borne immunity against the forces of "therapeutic normalization" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 257). The self that Dreyfus and Rabinow describe is exactly the construction of self that this dissertation argues emerged at the end of the nineteenth century through the performance and representation of a deliberate culture that would lead to the emergence of lifestyle in its contemporary manifestation. Dreyfus and Rabinow describe "a self that, as its ethical activity, constituted itself as an ongoing public creation by giving a unified style to its acts would…be much less vulnerable to currently available techniques of power/knowledge" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 257). I am interested in using this conception of a self as the starting point for this thesis's exploration of a self, conceived through ongoing public performances that are linked together by consistent and intentional curation.

Personality, Character, and Self-hood

Raymond Williams's *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1976) explores the cultural and etymological meanings of words that he defines as "difficult" (Williams 1976, 14). As part of this catalogue, Williams examines the history of the word "personality" (Williams 1976, 233-235). He finds that *personality* stems from the word *person*, which entered English in the thirteenth century from the Old

French word *persona* (Latin *Persona*). The earliest meaning of *persona* denoted the mask worn by a player before broadening to mean a character that a player acts. In thirteenth century English, *person* was used to denote a character played, and it also meant being a person, as opposed to a thing. By the sixteenth century the meaning of *person* grew to represent both individuals and their property. According to Williams this was related to the Latin *Personalitas*, which referred not only to this sense of being a *person* but also to personal possessions (Williams 1976, 234). This is an interesting hierarchy: a *person* can be defined by not being a *thing,* and a person can be also defined by owning things. This sense of things that belong to a person entered English as *personality* (Williams 1976, 234).

In the eighteenth century, Samuel Johnson described *personality* as "the existence or individuality of any one" (Williams 1976, 233). In addition to this sense of personality being an essential part of a person, it could also be understood as a qualifying part of a person: Williams refers to Ralph Waldo Emerson's phrase in 1847: "overpowering personality" (Williams 1976, 233). The idea that personality can be separated from the person seems to echo that early evocation of a player's mask. In the twentieth century, this meaning developed into a separate definition for celebrities who might be known as 'personalities'. These personalities are a kind of return to the classical concept of persona as a mask. Therefore all persons possess personality, but it is by no means true that all persons are personalities (Williams 1976, 234).

This distinction is made clearer for Williams by comparison with the etymology of the word *character,* which entered English from the Greek word for an engraving tool. This initially specifically related to people in terms of facial features, but by the early eighteenth century had grown to refer more broadly to the perceived interlocked

nature of a person's external reputation and internal nature (Williams 1976, 235). Nowadays, character has diverged from personality in that we can speak of having 'good character' i.e. moral fibre, social standing etc, whereas personality seems to remain more intrinsic to one's person (Williams 1976, 234). The sense that a person possesses personality as a thing recurs through many of the meanings and connotations of the word, and it is striking that it is this possession that defines a person from a thing. It seems from Williams's trajectory of the term *personality* that the definition of a person is reliant on their possession of personality.

In *Personality in the Making of the Twentieth-Century Culture* (1979), Warren Susman applies Raymond Williams's distinction between personality and character. In Susman's account one of the defining traits of being modern is the development of the consciousness of the self. In following Williams, Susman viewed character as a "higher moral law" (Susman, 1979, 214) that stood outside the individual. In Susman's account, by the 1800s "the concept of character had come to define that particular modal type felt to be essential for the maintenance of the social order" (Susman, 1979, 213-214). Susman points out that the word *consciousness* entered popular usage in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, he points out that there has been a history of major conceptual upheavals in the concept of the self from Copernicus through to Darwin and Freud. (Susman 1979, 213). Susman approaches cultural history with the view "that we can best understand modern cultural developments in all forms if we see and define the particular vision of the self basic to each cultural order" (Susman 1979, 215). In following this logic, Susman argues that by the middle of the 1800s a "culture of character" (Susman 1979, 214) was the dominant modal type of self-definition. Character provided a method for "both the mastery and development of the

self" (Susman 1979, 214). Susman argues that this "culture of character" is defined by "a vision of self-control and self-mastery…through sacrifice in the name of a higher law, ideals of duty, honor, integrity" (Susman 1979, 220). Character was a means of presenting oneself to society through the embodiment of certain higher ideals such as "being a true Christian Gentleman, pure, upright, intelligent, strong, brave…having benevolence, moral courage, personal integrity and 'the highest kinship of soul'" (Susman 1979, 219). Therefore development of the self within the culture of character was predicated on self-sacrifice to a higher moral order. This tendency has roots deep in the Christian ascetic practices of spiritual realisation through the ritualized purging the self of sin. Self control requires a kind of emptying of the self so that one can be filled with noble and righteous traits. Susman sums up this description by quoting Emerson, "Moral Order through the medium of individual nature" (Emerson quoted in Susman, 1979, 214). The individual was personally responsible for contributing to the health of this higher moral order. Crucially, this moral order existed as an abstract external universal that imposed an essentially uniform set of claims on all people.

Where Susman becomes particularly pertinent for my thesis is his argument that "somewhere in the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century, there rapidly developed….another vision of self-development and mastery, another method of the presentation of the self in society" (Susman 1979, 215). It is here, however, that Susman's argument runs a bit thin. While he is adept at finding and describing emergent modes of self-definition, he remains consistently vague on the underlying causes for such changes in modal type. In one telling passage Susman writes, "Whether it is a change from capitalism to finance capitalism, scarcity to abundance, disorganization to

high organization - however the change is defined it is clear that a new social order was emerging" (Susman 1979, 216). From this rather inchoate yet fundamental set of changes, Susman traces a change from "a vision of self sacrifice to that of self-realisation" (Susman 1979, 217). The charge was no longer to seek a "higher moral order" but to "become one with a higher self" (Susman 1979, 216). Susman locates this change in American culture in what he terms "the other side of Emerson" (Susman 1979, 216). This is not the Emerson of personal civic responsibility. This other Emerson emphasized a very personal route to spiritual transcendence that became the intellectual antecedent to the New Thought and mind-cure movement (Susman 1979, 216). Susman finds evidence for such changes from two main sources - first in a growing fascination in the human personality of the ficto-historical Jesus. This is not a role model Jesus nor a social reformer, but "a sick personality, a miserable maladjusted fanatic" (Susman 1979, 217), who featured for instance in Albert Schweitzer's 1913 *The Psychiatric Study of Jesus* (Susman 1979, 217). Susman's most compelling further evidence comes from "a radical shift in the kind of advice manuals that appeared after the turn of the century" (Susman 1979, 216). These new manuals were no longer concerned with an external higher moral order. They were much more preoccupied with the development of a higher self: "the vision of self-sacrifice began to yield to that of self-realisation" (Pooley 2010, 217).

In contrast to culture of character, this new culture of personality had its own attendant adjectives. In works that foregrounded the development of personality, in particular Funk and Wagnall's 1915 publication *Personality: How to Build It*, from their Mental Efficiency Series of self-help books, Susman identifies words such as "*fascination, stunning, attractive, magnetic, glowing, masterful, creative, dominant and*

forceful" all modifying *personality* (Susman 1979, 217). The use of these adjectives points to a concern with inner mechanisms such as being creative, as well as more performative outward-facing elements such as being attractive and fascinating. In perhaps the most succinct definition of personality, Susman quotes directly from Funk and Wagnall's publication, "Personality is the quality of being somebody" (Laurent quoted in Susman 1979, 218). This is strikingly reminiscent of the performer's mask. With this penchant for astute cultural observation, Susman then adds rather coyly, "To be somebody one must be oneself (whatever that means)" (Susman 1979, 218). Susman's "whatever that means" actually identifies the double bind and double obligation of personality; on the one hand, having a good personality speaks to the notion that one must cultivate a persona i.e. 'be somebody', while on the other hand, to 'be oneself' requires an implicit knowledge and belief in an innate sense of self. All of this requires some degree of presentation to and acceptance by others. To be "fascinating" or "magnetic" requires that you are liked by others. However to be "masterful" or "creative" requires a great degree of inner work. Only through the successful performance of "emancipation, self-expression and excellent work" (Susman 1979, 221) can one attain the personal magnetism needed to be liked by others. With an emphasis on personal charm and poise, Susman notes the growing interest in books and articles relating to "proper breathing, sound eating habits and good complexion" (Susman 1979, 221).

Good health of body and mind and attractive personal appearance become the new moral dictums. As concepts from William James's work will illustrate in the next section, old ideas of morality, caught up in violent and debilitating hypocrisy, were replaced by a new dedication to self-realisation, self-expression, and personal

magnetism: “one is to be unique, distinctive, follow one’s own feelings, make oneself stand out in the crowd, and at the same time appeal – by fascination, magnetism, attractiveness – to it” (Susman 1979, 220). This is the guiding maxim that generates what Susman identifies as the culture of personality. The values, aesthetic choices, material goods, domestic surroundings, vocational configurations, and design practices that are generated through the interface between self-fulfilment and self-presentation all become what these new ‘personalities’ would self-identify as expressions of their lifestyle.

Susman was not alone in this account of the self. But as Jefferson Pooley writes in his essay, “The Consuming Self”, “Warren Susman’s account of what he calls ‘the culture of personality’ best captures the self’s Janus-faces aspect” via the joining of “a yearning for authentic experience” and “calculated self promotion” (Pooley 2010, 72). Pooley’s essay is much less based on primary sources than is Susman; rather, he provides a brief intellectual history of studies of self and consumerism in the American academy. He begins by asserting that “contradiction is at the core of the modern American self. That contradiction can be summed up as: be true to yourself; it is to your strategic advantage” (Pooley 2010, 71). For Pooley, the first half of this calculation has been approached by one set of thinkers; “In describing this self, some of the thinkers – Lears, Reiff, Bell, and Lasch especially – stress the new yearning for individual self-fulfilment through authentic experience” (Pooley 2010, 71). T. J. Jackson Lears in *No Place of Grace: Anti-modernism and the Transformation of American Culture* (1981) takes the approach of a cultural historian tracing ideas in literature, politics, and popular culture of the time. Philip Rieff in his authoritative *The Triumph of the Therapeutic: Uses of Faith after Freud* (1966) asserts that Freud’s successors have replaced an

external Christian morality with nothing at all. The disappearance of natural laws has been replaced by hollow promises of a fragmented, incoherent individualism. Daniel Bell and Christopher Lasch in *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (1976) and *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Returns* (1979) respectively both point the finger directly at progressive liberalism and consumer capitalism. They both assert that capitalism has severed the link to tradition or traditional ways of living without supplying a suitable replacement. As a result, Americans are on a fruitless quest to find their true selves by way of the affirmation of others.

The second half of Pooley's "core contradiction" is "it is to your strategic advantage". For this half of the calculation, Pooley walks us through another series of thinkers. This group stresses the performative aspects of the management of the self. Pooley writes that, "notably Fromm and Riesman place the accent elsewhere: on performance" (Pooley 2010, 71). Both David Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd* (1950) and Eric Fromm in *Man for Himself: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Ethics* (1947) stress, in different ways, that self-realisation involves a certain detachment from oneself, "as a project to be managed and promoted" (Pooley 2010, 72). Pooley's essay is then largely concerned with the tension and reconciliation between these two approaches to "thinking on the twentieth century consuming self" (Pooley 2010, 70). He draws out these two strands as "Promotion and Authenticity" (Pooley 2010, 72). For Pooley "the injunction to explore and realize one's true self is hopelessly mixed up with the demand to treat oneself as an object" (Pooley 2010, 78). He terms this productive contradiction within the self as "calculated authenticity" (Pooley 2010, 78). The authentic self is one half of the goal - this authentic self must be managed for optimal outward presentation.

Pooley's notion of "calculated authenticity" is a useful starting point for the concept of deliberate culture which will be discussed at length in the next chapter. For Pooley, Susman is alone amongst the "therapeutic ethos" (Pooley 2010, 78) scholars who bring together these two strands of thought. In Susman's description of an emergent culture of personality, one must stand out from the crowd and at the same time appeal to it (Susman, 1979, 220). Considered in relation to one another, these conceptions of personality, character, and self-hood build a picture of the self that is engaged in an ongoing transaction between authenticity and its performance. This forms a key part of my overarching thesis that deliberate culture is the public enactment of this transaction.

Self-help, Energy and Morality

Central to Susman's method is the belief that "we can best understand modern cultural developments in all forms if we see and define the particular vision of the self basic to each social order" (Susman 1979, 215). In the following section, various self-help tracts by William James and Anne Payson Call provide primary sources from the first decade of the twentieth century that serve to illuminate exactly this emergent vision of the self. Following chapters will trace the material evidence of these changes through the early development of Anglo-American culture in Los Angeles in the first half of the twentieth century. The works of William James and Anne Payson Call, the deliberate, integrated and curated lifestyle of Charles Fletcher Lummis, and the interplay between tourism and the residential fantasy of early Pasadena each trace the ways that "the experience of living" (Pooley 2010, 75) within an emergent consumer society prompted a reevaluation of the self and the narratives surrounding its construction.

William James was a prominent American psychologist and philosopher. He was born into a well-known family of New York intellectuals and was the brother of the novelist Henry James. He worked for many years as a professor of psychology at Harvard and is largely credited with fostering the American maturation of the discipline. He is also known as one of the main proponents of the philosophical theory known as Pragmatism. James worked across a wide variety of disciplines. He helped create Harvard's Department of Psychology and clinical labouratory but he was also deeply interested in less academic articulations of knowledge. He had a long running interest in the theosophists, Christian Scientists and the mind-cure movement more generally. I argue that James's theoretical work is central to establishing the groundwork of what would later become recognisable as *lifestyle*.

James's intellectual output can be roughly defined by two interrelated strands; the psychological and the philosophical. His two most influential works are *The Principles of Psychology* (1890) and *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), both of which map nicely onto this dual schematic. In *The Varieties of Religious Experience* James began to develop his philosophical theories on pragmatism. This can be broadly understood by a maxim of pragmatism described by the philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce: "Consider what effects, which might conceivably have practical bearings, we conceive the object of our conception to have. Then, our conception of those effects is the whole of our conception of the object" (Peirce 1992, 132). An object is only understood through the possible and actual effects it has on the person conceiving of that object. *The Varieties of Religious Experience* was not interested in religious institutions and their historical roots but rather the real and practical effects that religious experience had on the individual. According to James, the value of religious

experience was based on the effectiveness of that experience in developing a positive, optimistic and liberating outlook in the mind of the individual. James's optimism cannot be stressed enough. Richard Rorty, James's intellectual inheritor, writes in an essay titled "Our National Pride" from a series of essays titled *Achieving Our Country* (1998): "James's pragmatist theory of truth was in part a reaction against a sort of detached spectatorship" (Rorty 1998, 8). James's distaste for detached spectatorship is evidenced through his development as a public intellectual. Academia and critical scholarship is, in part, founded on principles of detached spectatorship. The 'practical' effects of such work can sometimes be diffuse and hard to articulate. James's willingness to modulate his message for a broad range of readers serves as another manifestation of his pragmatic approach to the dissemination of ideas. Tracing the provenance of one particular work illustrates this point.

The Energies of Men was first given as a presidential address to The American Philosophical Society in 1906. In 1907 the essay was then printed in an academic journal *The Philosophical Review.* That same year *The American Magazine*, a publication more aligned with popular culture, also printed a version of the essay. In 1914, the essay was again published as a standalone hardbound tract by the popular publishers Moffet, Yard and Company. From clubby address to his scholarly peers to periodical, and then to popular tract - James modified his essay for a whole new strata of readers in response to its broad appeal. The final most widely available version of the essay tackles all the same themes and concepts as previous versions but takes a much more narrative approach to the topics. Concepts are introduced largely by way of biographical example, and throughout the essay James implores his readers to search within themselves and discover the approach to rejuvenation that best suits their

individual needs. In this highly pluralist bespoke cosmopolitan pedagogy, James has a natural distaste for any kind monolithic approach that leans towards lawlike generalizations. Instead the 1914 edition of *Energies of Men* advocates an approach of narrative reflexivity:

> insomuch as the storyteller and the story protagonist co-create each other: by telling a story about oneself, one adopts personality characteristics commensurate with the characteristics of the protagonist of the story. Whether he or she is a hero, victim, a survivor, so forth. (Gabriel 2008, 221)

This passage in Gabriel's essay on personality from his expository thesaurus *Organizing Words: A Critical Thesaurus for Social and Organization Studies* (2008), helps illuminate the ideographic approach that James takes in *The Energies of Men*. As Gabriel notes, throughout the essay James stresses the importance of this act of narrative co-creation. He offers a set of narratives, avenues of approach and stories to tell oneself. The final obligation, however, is on the reader to discover a method or a 'story' that is effective in their particular and unique circumstance. Of course, according to James, this task is the patriotic responsibility of everyone in the nation (James 914, 10 and 38). As I will argue in Chapter 2, the belief that this responsibility belonged to everyone in fact made it intensely subjective, which gave rise to its interlinking with place-making (e.g. of Pasadena) by individuals who saw it as their personal calling (e.g. Charles Lummis).

James begins his essay discussing the idea of getting "a second wind" (James 1914, 7) and even a "third and fourth wind" (James 1914, 7). In this passage James uses a host of examples to describe our untapped reserves of energy and various means of reaching them. Both James's examples and their methods vary greatly in magnitude and often contradict each other. In some passages James advocates rest and ascetic restraint.

In other examples the catalyst for personal growth seems more aligned to excess and ecstasy. In one passage he advocates the curative potential benefits of going on a "Spree" (James 1914, 25) while in another he advocates the transformative power of yoga. This intellectual transversal across disciplines is not simply rhetorical but central to the argument of the essay. James describes our individual energies as an "energy budget". With this use of economic language James promotes the idea that this is "a practical problem of national economy as well as individual ethics" (James 1914, 11). For James the energy of men (and women) is best understood as "the sum-total of activities, some outer, some inner, some muscular, some emotional, some moral, some spiritual, of whose waxing and waning in himself he is at all times so well aware" (James 1914, 13).

For James, energy is as diverse as the means he offers for conjuring its untapped reserves. Energy is contained within and capable of moving between physical, spiritual and moral planes. Pooley points out that both nineteenth century self-denial and twentieth century self-fulfillment are moral ideas (Pooley 2010, 76). While James would agree, he puts less stock in morality per se than in its part in a more holistic therapeutic approach. James emphasizes the various kinds of equilibrium: "nutritive equilibrium, efficacy equilibrium" and most importantly "vital equilibrium" (James 1914, 9-10). Indeed a major part of one's work on the self involves first the awareness of and then conscious management of these various aspects of one's self. In that sense, the problem of both national and individual education is found in understanding that work on the self must be as individually determined as those caught up in its therapeutics. When James speaks about energies he is referring just as much to spiritual energy as he is to moral or physical energy. The two energies are all part of one's

personal resources that deserve the dignity of careful assessment and deliberate management. The ability of a person to conjure stores of energy where there was previously exhaustion, James argued, was evidence that each organism has reserves of energy that are normally not called upon: “deeper and deeper strata of combustible or explodable material, discontinuously arranged, but ready for use by anyone who probes so deep and repairing themselves by rest as well as do the superficial strata. Most of us continue living unnecessarily on the surface.” (James 1914, 8).

Indeed this passage helps to illustrate a number of themes that are central to understanding the significance of lifestyle for white middle class urban Americans at the beginning of the twentieth century, and that are particularly vivid in Los Angeles, as I will argue in Chapters 3 and 4. What is perhaps immediately apparent is James’s emphasis on a logic of abundance. Despite one’s sense of exhaustion, brought on, for example, by being a member of a new urban bourgeoisie depleted by life in an ever expanding industrial metropolis, James proposed that the human organism had buried within him or her self an untapped potential store of energy. Extending the geologic metaphor perhaps too deeply into the paragraph, James claims that energy can be tapped if only we are willing to both ‘go deeper’ and, as befits someone needing energy, repair “themselves by rest” (James 1914, 8). A number of cultural historians including Jefferson Pooley and T. J. Lears in his essay ‘From Salvation to Self-realisation: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880-1930’ (1983) have noted this “shift in particular from an economy oriented around production to one dependent on consumption - nineteenth century scarcity to twentieth-century abundance” (Pooley 2010, 74). Indeed Lears sees these concepts instrumentalized, as he does most, referring to them as “scarcity theory” and “an exuberant abundance

theory" (Lears 1983, 6). For Pooley, "An older culture - normally placed in the nineteenth century - had emphasized thrift, restraint and self control. By the 1920's a new individualism has supplanted the denialist ideal, one focused on self-realisation and expressions of vitality" (Pooley 2010, 74). Lears is largely in agreement although he views this "worship of growth and process" (Lears 1983, 8), as emphasized by abundance therapy, as a turn-of-the-century "reaction against the rationalization of culture… and the systemic control over man's external environment and ultimately over his inner life as well" (Lears 1983, 9). For Lears this quest for self-realisation, "reintegrated selfhood and intense experience" (Lears 1983, 9), was co-opted by emerging consumer culture - with advertising and leisure industry executives promoting "a pseudo-religion of health and anxious self-absorption" (Lears 1983, 9).

Indeed it is true that James's essay is preoccupied with a kind of inner work on the self. As I have previously mentioned, what is perhaps most notable about the essay is the "diversity of means" (James 1914,13) that James examines in an attempt to harness these untapped reserves of energy. There is plurality to his approach that seems to run against Lear's more homogenizing argument. For Lears the quest for self-realisation "led ultimately in circles" (Lears 1983, 8). However for James, the inner work of the individual in tapping one's reserves of energy was by its nature deeply individualistic. Throughout the essay James oscillates between giving examples of what he calls the energising effects of "excitements, ideas and efforts" (James 1914, 16) and a repeated rejoinder that "whether a given idea shall be a live idea depends more on the person into whose mind it is injected rather than the idea itself" (James 1914, 30). In one example, he writes that disciples of a particular Mr. Fletcher use a system of super-chewing, that involves first chewing then re-chewing their food as a means of spiritual

and psychic regeneration. Disciples of another practice choose to go without breakfast as a means of rejuvenation. This elastic approach is well illustrated in his respect for the energising potential of conversion. "Conversion, whether they be political, scientific, or religious form another way in which bound energies are let loose" (James 1914, 33). This highly pragmatic approach to any kind of real and deep conversion is an equal opportunist, parrying the energising potential of conversion into a tool for tapping into one's reserves of energy. Echoes of this approach can be seen radiating across the twentieth century from the vitalist preacher of the 1920's Harry Emerson Fosdick, to the Trump family's preacher of positive thinking, Norman Vincent Peele. This power of a pluralistic conversion for James is of primary importance to understanding his thinking in this essay. James is willing to entertain religious as well as secular practices as long as they serve at the altar of pragmatic ends, endowing the converted with renewed energies. This pluralistic vision of self-management in which prescriptions of self-betterment are arrived at by the individuals themselves. This is played out in California by key figures such as George Wharton James and Charles Lummis.

Relaxation and the Health of the Self: from Teddy Roosevelt 'the rough rider' to Maggie, a Girl of the Streets

James is perhaps most taken with the rise of Christian Science. Christian Science was founded by Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910) and defined in her book *Rudimental Divine Science,* first published in 1891, as the "the law of God" wherein religious devotion can heal and even prevent illness ([1891] 1904, 7). In Robert C. Fuller's *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life,* he summarises Christian Science: "Mrs Eddy follows a line of reasoning...that such things as sickness, pain or

evil possess no positive ontological status. They are only the delusional appearances created by an erring mortal mind" (Fuller 1952, 61). James emphasises the “healthy-minded” and “optimistic” (James 1914, 34) nature of this new faith. He describes Christian Science, as well as “New Thought” and “Metaphysical healing,” as part of a new suite of “optimistic faiths” that dispel feelings of inferiority and “operate by the suggestion of power and the power, small or great, comes in various shapes to the individual” (James 1914, 34). James is drawn to Christian Science because of the energising effect it has on the individual. While acknowledging Christian Science as a religious movement, he warns “academically nurtured minds” and “medical politicians” (James 1914, 35) not to disregard its importance as a “social phenomenon” whose energising powers can be instrumentalised and put to use for “their own therapeutic ends” (James 1914, 35). What T. J. Lears views as “the most corrosive aspect of the therapeutic ethos…the worship of growth and process in ends themselves” (Lears 1983, 8) was for James the discovery of a cosmopolitan plurality of approaches. For James, “various avenues of approach” and the “various keys for unlocking” the untapped energies of “diverse individuals” were “the whole problem of individual and national education” (James 1914, 28). For James the problem of untapped reserves of energy is a national one, but the solutions are deeply personal. This connection between national interests and individual responsibility is central to understanding the emergence of lifestyle in California, where key figures led the development of the region.

James addresses his audience personally. He describes how “we all feel more or less alive on different days” (James 1914, 14). He uses phrases such as “everyone is familiar with”, “Everyone knows” and “Most of us feel” to describe what he views as the near universal condition of being “cut off from one’s rightful resources…with life

grown into one tissue of impossibility" (James 1914, 15). Although we all know what exhaustion feels like, finding our reserves of energy depends on the type of exhaustion from which we are suffering. For instance, some people have a spiritual exhaustion and in such cases a spiritual conversion of some kind may be a remedy. Others might suffer from a moral depletion, in which case, ascetic practices such as temperance might be recommended. In this essay James wants to stress the plurality of approaches but also the responsibility of the individual to discover for themselves the approach best suited to their particular needs.

James walks us through a number of quite diverse examples from which we might take instruction. His approach is less didactic than it is suggestive - his examples range from the individual to the collective, providing the reader a range of revitalising methods. One of James's first examples is that of the President of the United States at the time, Teddy Roosevelt. The president had been a student of James's at Harvard. In Roosevelt, James sees an exemplar of what he describes as the "dynamogenic effect" (James 1914, 18) of a political office upon a man. Borrowing a technical term from medicine that refers to the generation of energy through stimulus, such as the increase of muscular contraction when force is applied, James extends this dynamogenic effect beyond the body. He argues that any change upon a person, be it a move from the country to the city, or of a man into political office, can create a surge of untapped energies. Significantly James writes that "appeals can be dynamogenic morally as well as muscularly" (James 1914, 18). In James's conflation of physical and moral vitality, he reflects popular sentiment at the time. Teddy Roosevelt cultivated a deliberate persona both before and during his presidency as a prototype of the twentieth century American male. He embodied and preached for an American masculinity that

was defined by a rugged self-governing individualism. After spending some years out west as a rancher, deputy sheriff and cowboy enthusiast, Roosevelt wrote a number of books and articles, including *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* published in 1888. These works discuss life at his ranch Elkhorn, near Medora, North Dakota. Roosevelt helped popularise this particularly Western idea of rugged individualism in the years following the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad. Thirteen years before he would become president, Roosevelt wrote:

> The moral tone of a cow-camp is indeed rather higher than otherwise. Meanness, cowardice and dishonesty are not tolerated. There is a high degree of truthfulness and keeping one's word, intense contempt for any kind of hypocrisy, and a hearty dislike for a man who shirks his work…the conversation is not worse than in most bodies comprised wholly of male human beings. A cowboy will not submit tamely to an insult and is ever ready to avenge his own wrongs; nor has he an overwrought fear of shedding blood. He possesses, in fact, few of the emasculated, milk and water moralities admired by the pseudo-philanthropists; but he does possess to a very high degree, the stern, manly qualities that are invaluable to a nation. (Roosevelt 1888, 55-56)

Opening with the moral tone of the cow camp, Roosevelt makes clear what counts as the 'correct moral fiber', with honesty and hard-work at the top of the list. More interesting however is that the cowboy is also lauded for "avenging his own wrongs" and actually lacking the kind of wet noodle morality of the "pseudo-philanthropists". While this is clearly a reference to effete East Coast urban elites, it is also an ideological position that places rugged self-governing individualism above "the milk and water" moralities of a more socialist or communitarian persuasion. Roosevelt heavily suggests that this rugged nature is only to be found in the West, and it seems clear that James believed the same. As I will demonstrate in later chapters, areas like Yosemite and Pasadena were developed and shaped by the sort of self-governing individual that Roosevelt has described here.

For James, in some ways self-realisation was a gendered concept, and one that worked differently for women. What is perhaps most striking about James's use of Teddy Roosevelt, aka the rough rider (a paragon of the rugged American self-governing individual), is his location within the rest of the text. Just following the section on Roosevelt, James titles a section *The Sublime Heroism of Women*. Indeed in contrast to Roosevelt, James presents women as a broad category, even including both refined and poor women, as an exemplar almost antithetical to the sovereign exception that Roosevelt embodies as President. James's poor women seem to be a type drawn from literary naturalism. Their existence is entirely dependent on vicissitudes of social forces beyond their control. James begins this section by writing, "humbler examples show perhaps still better what chronic effects of duty's appeal may produce in chosen individuals" (James 1914, 18). Although deeply paternalistic throughout, James displays a progressive sensibility to the unacknowledged labour of women - in particular those of the working class. James states that women exceed men in their ability to maintain what he describes as "sustained moral excitement" (James 1914, 18). James writes:

> where can one find greater examples of sustained endurance than in those thousands of poor homes, where the women successfully holds the family together and keeps it going by taking all the thought and doing all the work—nursing, teaching, cooking, washing, sewing, scrubbing, saving, helping neighbors, "choring" outside..keeping the children clean and the man good tempered, soothing and smoothing the whole neighborhood into finer shape. (James, 1914, 20)

This passage depicts a person fully enmeshed in her community on a number of levels. Her individual feats such as cooking, washing or simply soothing are immediately subsumed into the social fabric in which they exist. A martyr to the sustenance of those around her, James's woman is pure relation. Despite this tethered condition, even to the

degree that James's woman is defined by the tether, they manage to "keep it all going" by simply "doing all the work". When paired with the section on Roosevelt, this description operates through the emasculation of the working class male, but also through an admonishment of an empty middle class morality. In an echo of James's literary contemporaries such as Stephen Crane, James finds morality in the more immanent manifestations such as willpower, rather than in any tangible or physical manifestations of virtue, such as the interior of a home.

A useful contrast to James's passage can be found in *Maggie: a Girl of the Streets* (1893) by Stephen Crane, an American and a contemporary of James writing in a branch of literary realism described as naturalism. In this passage, and in the novel more generally, Crane is interested not so much in the physical conditions of the slum but in the discrepancy between the beliefs of the poor and the reality of their experience. In this scene our tragic heroine Maggie, now newly smote by the braggadocio and muscularity of working class Pete, suddenly views her home and all vain efforts towards aesthetic respectability with a newfound scorn:

> Turning, Maggie contemplated the dark, dust-stained walls and the scant and crude furniture of her home. A clock, in a splintered and battered oblong box of varnished wood, she suddenly regarded as an admonition. She noted that it ticked raspingly. The almost vanished flowers in the carpet pattern, she conceived to be newly hideous. Some faint attempts she had made with blue ribbon to freshen the appearance of a dingy curtain, she now views as piteous. (Crane 1979, 20)

From Crane's perspective this list of objects signifies a futile attempt to achieve a middle class domesticity. From the clock with its once shiny varnish, to the almost vanished flowers of carpet, to most painfully the personal touch of blue ribbon to finish off a window dressing, all objects exert their symbolic violence once the discrepancy between their ideal and the reality is dramatically exposed. Maggie feels only more

piteous after imagining, of course falsely, the decadence of Pete's own surroundings. However from James's perspective, this living room would be evidence of Maggie's indomitable will to improve her meagre surroundings: the clock can be seen as a symbol of discipline, while the flowers on the carpet are a faded but still present sign that the carpet has a decorative, aesthetic purpose in addition to its practical use in keeping the house hygienic. Towards the end of the passage on *The Sublime Heroism of Women,* James himself cites a very Maggie-esque character - one Jeanne Chaix - who had won an almost cruel French award for virtue after having supported herself, six siblings, an insane mother and chronically ill father on the wages from a pasteboard box factory (James 1914, 19). While Crane offers a sardonic diagnostic on the cruelty of a misplaced middle-class morality, James, always the opportunist, sees in the tragic gruelling labour of a poor woman the "force of her valiant will" (James 1914, 19).

The figure of a poor working woman and Teddy Roosevelt exist at opposite ends of symbolic order, although together they create a tidy picture of James's conception of energy rejuvenation. In James's narrative, Roosevelt is not only a model of masculinity, but also of the power of the individual. In reality, Roosevelt suffered from chronic illness for most of his life. So this narrative of Roosevelt the cowboy carries an additional layer of being manifested in a particularly Jamesian manner, in which stamina of the mind is directly equivalent to stamina of the body. Parading in a mythology of cowboy virtue, Roosevelt becomes a knight errant redrawn in the American west. In *Maggie: a Girl of the Streets* Maggie describes her ill fated lover Pete as "one whose knuckles could ring defiantly against the granite of the law. He was a knight" (Crane 1979, 20). In his mercenary, roaming, independence, and his possessive and nomadic filiation with the landscape, the knight-errant is a seductive

template for the American male's self-identity. In contrast, James's portrait of a working woman captures an ideal of domestic feminine heroism defined entirely through her familial and social relations: daughter, wife, mother. Her endurance and her will to continue persist despite the ever increasing depredation of her condition. Significantly for James, each of these figures has access to reserves of energy. Each figure is a kind of exemplar, offering the reader possible avenues for affiliation. In this way, James repeatedly foists responsibility on the reader to take control of their own energy reserves.

Throughout his essay, James continues to pair seemingly contradictory elements together. In a section titled *The Morbid Cases of Women,* James illustrates various nervous conditions of female psychiatric patients: "one is a girl who eats and eats all day, another walk and walk and walks…another is a dipsomaniac. A fourth pulls out her hair. A fifth wounds her flesh and burns her skin" (James 1914, 24). Unlike contemporaries who have diagnosed such conditions broadly as neurasthenia, a nervous condition aligned closely with the rise of urban modernity, James saw not the "weakness, torpor, lethargy and powerlessness of will" but rather the temporary "the sense of vitality" (James 1914, 24) and reanimation that each of these compulsive behaviours provided for the patient. James concluded that "the way to treat such patients is to discover to them more usual and useful ways of throwing their stores of vital energy into gear" (James 1914, 24). Here is a fundamental split between James and other cultural critics at the time, such as Stephen Crane. While Crane, the novelist, creates a naturalist portrait of the poor performing the shabby and always deficient pantomime of middle class morality, James sees within every individual the material of their own salvation. James adopts the same optimistic and utilitarian view towards a

person who self-harms as he does towards poor working women. He sees in their illness the origins of a cure.

Teddy Roosevelt as the Rough Rider, and psychiatric conditions such as bulimia are rather extreme examples of the release of energy. In all of James's examples, however, there is an abundance of energy. He believed in the fundamental tenet of pragmatism that an object was defined by the "practical bearings" (Peirce 1992, 132) it had on the person conceiving of that object. There is little doubt that the fury of relativism camouflages itself in "practical bearings", but in *The Energies of Men* these 'practical consequences' are those which tap into previously unknown or ill-spent reserves of vital energy. Although the multivalent definition of energy that James allows provided the reader with great versatility in application, the procedure is essentially the same: first do the necessary inner work to understand your own type of energy blockage, and then seek out and find the appropriate 'dynamogenic' agent that can release this energy. To this end, James does offer some more usable and less extreme examples of energy revitalisation. In these sections as well, James proceeds by way of reversal and contrast, first positing one method for renewal, then offering its antithesis as an even more effective tonic. James asks, "Is a Spree ever good for you?" (James 1914, 25). According to James, one Colonel Baird Smith finds brandy and opium helps to "throw himself into gear" (James 1914, 25). Humorous and relatable, yet dignified through service, Baird Smith is a Homer Simpson, through which, by degrees of pity and empathy we define the extended middle of our society. James continues to beckon his reader onto the couch,

> Such cases are humanly typical. We are all to some degree oppressed, unfree. We don't come to our own. It is there, but we don't get at it. The threshold must be made to shift. Then many of us find an eccentric activity - a "spree" say - relieves. There is

> no doubt that to some men sprees and excess of almost any kind are medicinal, temporarily at any rate, in spite of what the moralist and doctors say (James 1914, 25)

James conflates freedom, energy, and morality. Not only is he unafraid to cross-pollinate such terms, but this tendency to crash through conceptual thresholds is, to some degree, the point of the essay. His disregard for the moralists and doctors reveals James's fallibilist approach to knowledge and belief. The passage clearly advocates relief through excess, but James quickly pivots to tell the reader that if this normal method does not work, perhaps the opposite would have an even greater effect. Described by James as "the will", "saying no to temptation" and "moral volition", this opposite of excess ranged from temperance to "methodical ascetic discipline" (James 1914, 26). James believes that these "disciplines of asceticism" can both "launch a man to a higher level of energy" (James 1914, 26) and give him "very high levels of freedom and power of will." (James 1914, 26). As James continued to use these concepts interchangeably, 'energy' by James's definition becomes political, moral, and technological. Only through the individual reader and by their own deep inner-work can they be politically free, morally wilful and physio-mechanically tuned to a higher "gear" (James 1914, 25). These terms become both interchangeable and also interdependent. Not only does the reader have many points of entry into James's regime, but the positive 'practical consequences' can be many and wide-reaching. A reader attendant to James's method embarks on a incremental but ultimately all-encompassing regime. This sense of self-care being all-encompassing is something I will return to in later chapters where I will demonstrate how interconnected the self becomes to the environment through the process of lifestyle.

Therapeutics and Revitalisation: William James and Annie Payson Call

One of James's last exemplars in his essay concerns the practice of yoga. Both the depth and limits of James's appreciation of yoga illuminates his central claim on the reader; not that of any individual practice but an attention even preoccupation with the self and an attitude of continued self-improvement. James is very taken with yoga and its attendant disciplines. He describes yoga as "the most venerable ascetic system" (James 1914, 27). James tells an anecdotal account of a "very gifted" European friend who, suffering from the "decidedly menacing brain-condition of the circular type", took up Hatha yoga and its practice "of fasting from food and sleep, its exercises in breathing and thought concentration, and its fantastic posture-gymnastics" (James 1914, 28). According to James, after some months of practice this friend saw not only "deeper levels of will and moral and intellectual power" (James 1914 28) but also "a profound modification in the running of his mental machinery" (James 1914, 28). However no sooner has James asserted the power of this ascetic system then he performs a kind of reversal. He declares that: "my friend is a man of very particular temperament…he writes to me, you are quite right in thinking that religious crises, love-crisis, indignation crisis may awaken in a very short time powers similar to those reached by years of the Yoga-practice" (James 1914, 29).

James operates this pattern throughout the essay. He offers an exemplar for energy renewal and then qualifies this example with the rejoinder that each solution is as unique as the person reading the essay. As mentioned earlier, extreme experiences such as becoming President, or a life of servile destitution, or being trapped in a mine can act as a catalyst for revitalising an individual. James does not limit these

"dynamogenic agent[s]" (James 1914, 29) to experiences but also includes ideas as having similar powers. According to James, the power of ideas such as "The Flag", "The Union", "The Holy Church", "The Monroe Doctrine", "Truth", "Science", "Liberty" is entirely contingent upon their particular context. "The social nature of such phrases is an essential factor in their dynamic power… and each force is detent only in a specific group of men" (James 1914, 31). James playfully and purposefully conflates clearly historically contingent ideas, such as the Monroe Doctrine, with what most would assume to be concepts with near-universal symbolic force such as "truth" or "science". James's emphasis on the social nature of such phrases is later echoed in Susman's assessment of personality as a new modal type of self: "this new vision seemed particularly suited for the problems of the self in a changed social order, the developing consumer mass society" (James 1914, 32). James is not advocating a particular idea or experience, but rather a conceptual and moral landscape where the reader would feel free to adopt those practices or ideas uniquely suited to their particular social context.

The final sections of his essay *The Energies of Men* make clear the central pillars of James's thinking about energy. First what can be deemed therapeutic – be it a new duty, a yogic practice, a new religious conversion, a new way of chewing your food or just a new idea – was unique to each individual and their particular kind of exhaustion (mental, physical, spiritual, political, moral). And second, in an echo of a rather Nietzschean kind of therapeutics, James writes that "conscience makes cowards of us all. Social conventions prevent us from telling the truth after the fashion of the heroes and heroines of Bernard Shaw" (James 1914, 37). James believes that many of his close friends suffer from "deadly intellectual respectability" (James 1914, 37) that prevents

them from opening their minds to the various avenues of mental rejuvenation. Although James describes this "intellectually inhibited" mind as that which is tied down by "literality and decorum" (James 1914, 37), he is clearly speaking directly to those within his own cultural milieu. He has already argued that although appearing as "tasteless and grotesque" (James 1914, 35) to the academically trained mind, Christian Science should not be so quickly disregarded because its methods of conversion could be applied in a different context as an effective therapeutic process.

James ends the essay by reminding his readers that "the various avenues of approach" and the "various keys" for unlocking the energising potential in "diverse individuals" is a problem of both "individual and national education" (James 1914, 38). To achieve these ends James states that "biographies and individual experience of every kind may be drawn upon here" (James 1914, 38). What is worth noting is how each element of James's equation is qualified. There are various avenues, various keys, and diverse individuals. The possibility for combination and recombination grows exponentially. Vectors of possibility fan out in every direction. Anthony Giddens writes in *Modernity and Self Identity: Self and Society in the Modern Age* (1991) that:

> In the post-traditional order of modernity, against a backdrop of new forms of mediated experience self identity becomes a reflexively organized endeavor. The reflexive self, which consists in sustaining coherent, yet continuously revised biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choices as filtered through abstract systems. (Giddens 1991, 5)

In the prismatic dynamically contingent recombination of narratives, this description mirrors James's pluralistic individualised approach. Not only is the self reflective, it is also "continuously revising biographical narratives". This action of continuous revision demonstrates that work on the self is never complete. Our concepts of both personality

and lifestyle are born out of this process of revision. Significantly, both of these structures map very nicely onto the economic structure of consumer capitalism. Not only is the task never complete; just as that of the consumer, narratives and therapeutic approaches respectively present much like items in a supermarket: everyone together milling about amid endless shelves of highly mediated choices.

Many of these examples in the *Energies of Men* (1914) illustrate the pervasive manifestation of vital energies. This essay falls into the category of self-help not so much because it presents an either cuddly or stern didactic regime – James is neither mummy nor daddy. The usual conceit of the self-help genre of the reader being either hero or victim is absent in this essay. The main demand of the reader and the topic of the two other essays I will explore is to perform their own "inner work" (James 1914, 12). According to James this inner work, "though it often reinforces outer work, quite so often means its arrest. To relax, to say to ourselves (with the 'new thoughters') 'Peace! Be still!' is some times a great achievement of inner work" (James 1914, 13). Relaxation greatly aided this task of inner work. James took a holistic view of relaxation that included but was not limited to physical, spiritual, and mental forms of repose. The importance of relaxation to James helps reveal what T.J. Jackson Lears has deemed the shift from "morality to morale" (Lears 1983, 6). In *The Gospel of Relaxation* James argues explicitly that "the need of feeling responsible all the livelong day has been preached long enough in our New England" (James 1899, 507). The phrase "livelong day" is useful when considering James's work within the context of lifestyle in California in 1880-1915; I argue that the emergence of lifestyle materialised the way it did in Los Angeles in part as a reaction against the sense of duty implied in James's

choice of words: “need”, “responsible”, “preached”. As I will discuss in later chapters, Californian lifestyle was defined by its self-curation - i.e. the freedom to choose.

I now turn to James’s *The Gospel of Relaxation* (1899) and Annie Payson Call’s *Power through Repose* (1891). In both texts, the gendered nature of relaxation is emphasised. In addition, James makes a clear connection between the demand to relax and the theories of abundance: both of these texts point to an earlier period where people were morally, physically and spiritually rigid. In Annie Payson Call’s text in particular, this is a direct result of not being in tune with nature’s laws and rhythms. As evidence of this theory, Call points to the child as a model of a person in harmony with nature. This is useful to consider in relation to Ralph Waldo Trine’s very influential *In Tune with the Infinite* (1905). Trine was a father of the New Thought Movement and a good friend of Henry Ford. Indeed the connection to Henry Ford is an apt one, as James in *The Gospel of Relaxation* takes direct aim at the American belief that nervous illness was caused by over-work. Rather, James refers to “absurd feelings of hurry” (James 1899, 504) and “perfectly wanton and unnecessary tricks of inner attitude and outer manner” (James 1899, 504). In this way, James presents such mannerisms as superficial and frivolous, and therefore at odds with a more natural state of relaxation. James goes on to describe these outer manners as “too desperate eagerness and anxiety, or too intense responsiveness and good-will”, going further in his argument that this behaviour is by definition excessive to the point of crassness. James claims that this “Intensity, rapidity, vivacity of appearance are indeed with us something of a national accepted ideal” (James 1899, 502). It is relevant that James here draws a connection between individual behaviours and national identity. In criticising this national acceptance, James argues for an alternative set of standards by which all Americans will be both

more natural and more productive. This “breathlessness, tension and lack of inner harmony” (James 1899, 504) is described by James as “bottled lightning” (James 1899, 502). “Bottled lightning” appeared frequently throughout literature of this period, and it is notable that it is almost always referred to as a woman. With this in mind, it appears that James is building an argument for relaxation based on a model of masculinity that is defined by honesty, knowledge of the self, and naturalness. It is these pillars of honesty, self-knowledge, and naturalness that are manifest in California in 1880-1915, when characters such as Charles Lummis and George Wharton James aspired to promote, embody and perform these virtues.

In searching for a remedy, James points out that this condition is both social and personal. James writes that “bad habits [are], bred of custom and example, born out of imitation of bad models and cultivation of false personal ideals” (James 1899, 503). For James “it is the relaxed and easy worker who is in no hurry, and quite thoughtless most of the while of consequences who is the efficient worker” (James 1899, 503). Here a direct connection is made between relaxation and efficiency as a worker. Relaxation and repose are always a means to a practical end: the happy efficient worker. As a remedy for sick people who mistakenly value “Jerk and snap” (James 1899, 504), James advocates “harmony dignity and ease” (James 1899, 504).

How then does one achieve this state of calm? According to James the first step is acknowledging the forms of tension, worry, and general constriction within the body, mind and spirit. The second and third step must be done in concert. Once one has “decided general resolutions and plans of campaign” one must crucially not care about the results. James writes that “when a decision is reached and execution is the order of the day, dismiss absolutely all responsibility and care about the outcome” (James 1899,

505). He calls this “unclamping”. He also cites Annie Payson Call as describing this tendency as “not caring” (James 1899, 506). James ends the essay by confessing that the essay was written originally for a woman's college (James 1899, 507). Again this stresses the typically gendered nature of relaxation in this particular cultural context, although James does make note that relaxation will prove helpful to both sexes (502). James closes with a note of concern that as a direct result of hearing this lecture, a young lady might be “making an undying resolve to become strenuously relaxed, cost what it will for the remainder of her life” (James 1899, 507). James warns against such a direct, self-conscious approach to relaxation. The key for James is “paradoxically not to care whether you are doing it or not” (James 1899, 507). For James and for many of the “theosophists and mind-cures of various religious sects” (1899, 506), the first key to caring for the self is not to care too much.

Ultimately James advocated a concept of self-care that connected relaxation to spiritual and mental strength. According to James, self-care would be most successful when it happened naturally rather than “strenuously”. This idea that one must, to a certain degree, detach from oneself in order to achieve self-care, and by extension self-realisation, is central to understanding why the environment of Southern California was so well-suited to the emergence of lifestyle in 1880-1915. Lifestyle in Southern California was defined by the leisure activities on offer. By definition, such leisure pastimes were intended to be pleasurable and not require excessive exertion. Residents and visitors to Southern California were able to strike the balance between self care and being carefree. A culture was established in which Californians would immerse themselves in their external environment, for example through camping in Yosemite or hiking to Inspiration Point in Pasadena. This immersion was always within a mediated

frame of their own narrative; it was their choice to immerse themselves, and it was always on their own terms. James's concept of self-empowerment relates directly to this sense of intentionality found in early Californian lifestyle.

Self-realisation and the American Dream

While Californian lifestyle was developed by and for its upper middle class inhabitants and tourists, the city of gold, where a poor man can become wealthy, remains implicit but present in James' essay. The very idea of human energy and the correct modulation of its use for most efficient long-term output is directly linked to maximising one's labour potential. Through hard graft the poor man could become rich. James also writes that individual energies are a practical problem for the "national economy" (James 1914, 10). For James, the journey to El Dorado is an interior one requiring deep self-reflexivity. Crucially this path to the city of gold runs through the individual and the personal. The national economy is built on the self-awareness and self-confidence of its individual citizens.

As well as self-care, there is another much more homogenising, although no less animating, force at work in these essays by James and Call. This is hinted in James's almost desperate insistence that individual self-discovery and self-knowledge is not just a question of "individual ethics" (James 1914), but always a matter of "national economy" (James 1914, 10). The national economy to which James refers is that of the United States. By 1914 the United States was neither the military nor economic power that it would become in the latter half of the twentieth century. Nor was it the leader in the clearly more Anglo notion of metonymically named 'Victorian morality'. However with its almost faded patina of 'The New World', its newly conquered West, and

Emersonian mix of responsibility and transcendence, the United States proffered its own brand of jingoistic exceptionalism.

In one of his only works of non-fiction, *Dreaming Up America* (2008), the novelist of American historical fiction Russell Banks articulates three fundamental visions that taken together, and in the spirit of this essay, should be seen as always in process of continuous recombination. Combined, these visions embody what Banks is brave enough to call "The American Dream" (Banks 2008, 6). For Banks there was not one American Dream but three (Banks 2008, 6). The first of these is "El Dorado or The City of Gold". The second is the Puritan dream of "A City on the Hill" (Banks 2008, 6). The third's dream is the "Dream of the Fountain of Youth" (Banks 2008, 6).

Banks' second dream is that of the puritan "City on a Hill". This is the "New Jerusalem" (Banks 2008, 6) where the decadent cosmopolitanism of old Europe could be exchanged for a pastoral utopia. This is a place where a more natural man would have a direct and personal relationship with God. For James, this New Jerusalem is located in the interior landscape of the mind. Writing in 1914, forty-five years after the First Transcontinental Railroad, Banks' new territory of the west was that of an interior west with the promise of a new, higher self just on horizon. To get to this place, this pastoral retreat within the mind, James and his contemporaries such as Annie Payson Call, advocated for the tonic of relaxation. For James and Call, real inner work was not possible without a clearing of mental space. In *The Gospel of Relaxation,* James stresses the importance of "mental hygiene" and "hygiene of American life" (James 1899, 499). James's hygiene is a puritan's discipline. Banks describes the City on the Hill in similarly medicalised terms: "The religious dream of the City on the Hill, where you could live a life that was pure and uninfected by European cosmopolitanism" (Banks

2008, 6). James's description of a mental hygiene and hygiene of American life points to anxiety that the American mind, and by extension American life, was suffering from some malady. One can also find this particular anxiety in Annie Payson Call's essay *Power through Repose* when she writes of the newly discovered nervous illness known as "Americanitis" (Call 1891, 13). Both these examples directly reflect the impulse to return to this dream of a "pure and uninfected city" (Banks 2008, 6) where one can live in obedience to "the perfect laws of nature" (Call 1891, 13). By the end of the nineteenth century, this ideal of "A City on a Hill" was expressed through an anxiety for its extinction.

Banks's third American Dream is that of The Fountain of Youth. According to Banks, this dream "was the strongest of the three since it carries with it a sense of the new, of starting over, of having a New Life. It's essentially the dream of being a child again…a place where a person can be born again" (Banks 2008, 7). Banks's Fountain of Youth differs from his other two dreams in that both the El Dorado and the "City on the Hill" are places, communities, fixed points on a map to be discovered or delimited. Even when understood conceptually, these ideas retain their geographic dimensions, i.e., a mental hygiene implies a place or location capable of first getting dirty and then with some effort becoming clean again. Both examples are also implied communities: one of gold, the other of virtue. In contrast, the fountain of youth implies a much more personal relationship. The quest for the Fountain is often associated with Ponce De Leon specifically and the topology of the monomaniacal explorer more generally. From Leon through Herman Melville's fictional Captain Ahab to 'Grizzly Man' Timothy Treadwell, the hubristic quest for renewal has always been framed as an individual pursuit. The process of taking in the Fountain's waters is corporeal and intimate. The

conception of youth in Banks's Fountain is also one of personal Proustian nostalgia. This is a quest of the self for the self. It also, rather significantly, denotes a process rather than a destination. James's conception of energy in *The Energies of Men* is framed in similar terms. Much like the Fountain, reserves of energy are secretly flowing deep within the reader. As James goes to pains to reiterate in the final passage of the essay, there are "various avenues of approach" and "various keys unlocking" energy in "diverse individuals" (James 1914, 38). With the help of the tautology "diverse individuals", James clearly argues for a self-reflexive process of personal education and ultimately self-renewal.

This emphasis on process highlighted by Banks's dream of"A Fountain of Youth" is also reflected in James's distaste for fixed moral positions. T. J. Jackson Lears, in *No Place of Grace,* locates in this ascendance of a process-driven culture a significant point of connection between James's therapeutics of energy abundance and consumer culture. For Jackson Lears "the shift from arbitrary standards to the demands of a growing personality, from fixed values to values in constant process, marked the beginning of a culture stressing self-fulfilment - the dominant culture of our own time" (Lears 1994, 54). The culture of self-help and the culture of consumption were therefore shared by a new morality that stressed "perpetual growth and process" (Lears 1994, 54). Jackson Lears maligns "mind-curists" as "brothers under the skin to a new breed of corporate liberal ideologues" (Lears 1994, 54). Both in this chapter "Neurasthenic and the Emergence of a Therapeutic World View" and the essay "From Salvation to Self-Realisation: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of Consumer Culture 1880-1930", Jackson Lears makes the case that as "a longing for psychic harmony" (Lears 1994, 55) became "an end in itself" (Lears 1994, 55), advertisers sold

products with the promise that they would "contribute to the buyer's physical, psychic and social well-being" (Lears 1983, 10). This commodification of well-being is well documented in the recent work by William Davies in his book *The Happiness Industry* (2015). While this work aptly traces the intersection of theories of economics and theories of social psychology, it also follows the history of quantitative data in the management and commercialisation of emotion. However, this essay, in agreement with Pooley, asserts that "it is the *experience* of living through these changes that count as significant" (Pooley 2010, 75). There is an iterative co-dependent relationship between concepts of the self and the development of consumer culture. As Lears points out, "The decline of symbolic structures outside the self has been a central process in the development of consumer culture" (Lears 1983, 11). While other works on well-being have traced intersections of intellectual history and corporate hegemony in America, here I am more concerned with ways that both concepts were informed by and emerged out of changing ideas about the self as a step in understanding the development of California's particular cultural identity. As the philosopher Charles Taylor has written in his magnum opus, *The Sources of the Self* (1989), the self is only ever made up of the questions it asks about itself.

> We are Selves only in that certain issues matter for us. What I am as a self, an identity, is essentially defined by the way things have significance for me…To ask what a person is, in abstraction from his or her self-interpretations, is to ask a fundamentally misguided question…We are not selves in the way that we are organisms, or we don't have selves in the way we have hearts or livers. We are living beings with these organs quite independent of our self-understandings or interpretations, or the meanings things have for us. But we are only selves insofar as we move in a certain space of questions (Taylor 1994, 34).

Alternatives and Solutions: Health, Self-fashioning and American Religious Life

Mid-nineteenth century experiments with a syncretism between pseudo-scientific doctrines of self-help and Christian religious doctrine provided the basis for "two of America's five native born religions" (Fuller 1989, 61). In *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life* (1989), Robert Fuller traces American alternative medicine from its religious roots in early American "Protestant Perfectionism" (12) to the contemporary alternative medicine moments of Chiropractic medicine and holistic healing movements. Published in 1989, Fuller is too early to anticipate the growth of the wellness industry and the saturation of well-being and heuristic healing ideology in all aspects of contemporary life. The influence of yogic practice on contemporary spiritual and consumer culture stands as one marker of this shift. William Davies in *The Happiness Industry* (2015) provides a comprehensive contemporary assessment of the industry of well-being, and the ways that corporate and governmental entities have adopted and deployed its strategies. This speaks directly to the pervasive saturation that ideas of self-help, fomented at the start of the twentieth century, have achieved by its end. Despite Fuller's early input on alternative medicine in America, he nevertheless makes crucial anecdotal connections between mass consumerism, self-help and heuristic belief systems.

Fuller's account of Dr. Caleb Jackson's water-cure resort in Dansville, New York, paired with his description of the life and influence of Sylvester Graham (the father of the Graham Cracker), illustrates the close links between early American Christian evangelical movements, the new therapeutics of the self, and American consumer culture. Fuller writes that the "curative power of waters can be found in almost every culture in the world" (Fuller 1989, 26). However it was not until the

1840's that Hydropathy was imported to the United States through the healing practices of the Austrian Vincent Priessnitz. His system of Hydropathy advocated a series of showers, baths and wet packs (Fuller 1989, 26). As Fuller points out, the main appeal of this system to Americans of this period was its contrast to "allopathic medicine's excessive use of drugs" (Fuller 1989, 26). Fuller is keen to point out that Hydropathy, homeopathy, mesmerism and other "countervailing medical traditions" (Fuller 1989, 30) rejected traditional allopathic approaches to medicine and were more interested in "enhancing the natural vitality intrinsic in living organisms" (Fuller 1989, 27). This approach is later echoed by James's rejuvenation philosophy in *The Energies of Men,* where energy reserves within man or woman are amply available but simply unacknowledged and untapped. These alternative medical systems "rejected university training or professional membership" and rather emphasised home doctoring and the role of the patient in his or her own healing process (Fuller 1989, 29). Fuller writes,

> A good many Americans were dissatisfied with orthodox theology and were seeking progressive minded insights into the higher laws of nature. Eclecticism and broad-minded synthesis appeals to those seeking a philosophy fit for a new age in which religion and science might be combined in some kind of transcendent intellectual synthesis. (Fuller 1989, 29)

Here Fuller highlights an idea already seen in James and Call in their claims for relaxation and response. In all these cases, tuning-in to "higher laws of nature" was achieved through broad cross-spectrum application of some eclectic principle. "Transcendental intellectual synthesis" was manifested in material form through a holistic application of certain principles across a wide range of one's lived experience. This could encompass everything from matters of personal taste in clothes, music and design, to more public manifestations such as urban development and town planning.

This aesthetics of the self also extended into matters of one's daily experience of living such as practices of diet, exercise, leisure and work.

One can trace this integration of adopted practices and beliefs into various aspects of one's life and personal development through Dr Caleb Jackson's water cure resort and its adoption of the diet and living regimes of Sylvester Graham (Fuller 1989, 30). Dr. Jackson owned one of the most luxurious and influential of the water-cure institutions in mid-nineteenth century America. He moved well beyond his competitors' simple sanatoriums based on the austere Austrian model, to create a "palatial resort where he combined hydropathic facilities, organised exercise programs, educational lectures, theatre, and health-food meals." (Fuller 1989, 30.) For those with the means, Jackson provided not only a resort for convalescence, holiday, or rest, but also a place where someone could refashion all aspects of their daily routine. Jackson's resort was not simply curative but evangelised a particular lifestyle. Among its notable guests were John Harvey Kellogg (the 'inventor' of the mass produced dry cereal) and Ellen Gould White, founder of the second largest Christian denomination in the United States, The Seventh Day Adventists (Fuller 1989, 33). Fuller also notes that Jackson "began to produce health foods as a commercial venture, and among his first packaged products was a dry cereal he called "Granola" (Fuller 1989, 30). Jackson's conversion of a therapeutic practice which was essentially a belief system in the sacramental "power of water to restore humans to a condition of purity" (Fuller 1989, 27), into a consumer product demonstrates the cozy relationship between self-help and the rise of consumerism in the United States. His resort was known as "Our Home on the Hillside" by Kellogg, Ellen Gould White and others, reflecting the domestic, if luxurious environment that his resort fostered. Guests not only undertook the water therapy, but

were also educated in a whole new set of principles for living that included exercise and abstinence, and above all had an increasing focus on diet and healthy food (Fuller 1989, 30). Moreover, Dr Jackson's resort offered a regimen for living that could be approximated after his guests left the resort. At a very minimum, guests could relive the magic promise of their "home on the hillside" through the purchase and consumption of Jackson's Granola. Despite Dr Jackson's efforts, in Fuller's account of the alternative medicine movement in the United States, he credits Sylvester Graham for laying the foundations of the health food movement in the United States.

Sylvester Graham (1794-1851) was "an ordained Presbyterian minister and itinerant evangelical preacher" (Fuller 1989, 29). He began his career primarily as a preacher of temperance, but by 1832 his focus had shifted somewhat to "the dangers of masturbation and sexual excess" which through "overstimulation of the sexual organs" would cause "diabetes, Jaundice, acne, bad hearing and loss of teeth" (Fuller 1989, 31). According to Fuller, Graham became increasingly focused on diet. Based on his own very amateur scientific observations, Graham came to believe that the stomach was the medium through which the 'vital power' of an organism could be regulated. He embraced vegetarianism and became one of its main advocates in nineteenth-century America (Fuller 1989, 32). Central to his dietary regime was "well made bread" made from unbolted wheat flour. This would later be adopted into a cracker form that would eventually become a staple consumer product in the United States (Fuller 1989, 32). Today, the Graham Cracker occupies a cultural position not dissimilar to that of the digestive biscuit in the UK.

While the fame of Graham's cracker serves as a testament to the endurance of his ideas through the ghostly presence of a consumer product, its popular uptake was

due more to the popularity of his total dietary regime - of which bread and its contents were a central symbolic aspect. Fuller writes that Graham provided "lengthy instructions on proper sleep, exercise, dress, personal hygiene and avoidance of medicine" (Fuller 1989, 32). Graham saw a syncretic relationship amongst all aspects of one's daily routine. There was a direct and "intimate relation between the quality of the bread and the moral character of the family" (Graham cited in Fuller 1989, 32). His ideas were widely read and adopted, to the extent that "the period's communitarian experiments - Brooke Farm, Fruit-Lands, the Shakers - based their dietary program on Graham's principals" (Fuller 1989, 33). It is clear that mid-nineteenth century experiments with a syncretism between pseudo-scientific doctrines of self-help and Christian religious doctrine became a key part of the national consciousness at the time.

Constructing the Self

From the invention of 'Health-Food' to the development of Pasadena and Palm Springs as sites of recuperation and leisure, many of the lessons espoused by William James and Anne Payson Call became embodied practices and commercial opportunities. By the end of the nineteenth century, Southern California had experienced a rapid migration of white middle class Easterners and Midwesterners seeking respite from pollution and crowding. First drawn to resorts and sanitariums, these new "health seekers" inaugurated a very deliberate culture based on a pseudo-spiritual belief in good-health, positive energy, and a community-wide effort towards personal self-actualisation. In many ways the concomitant development of lifestyle and personality was not unique to Southern California. However between 1880-1915, Los Angeles transformed from a small town to a major American city. Because of the speed and

timing of this development, complex changes in how Americans both produced and performed themselves can be traced through the material and aesthetic development of Los Angeles in this period.

As this chapter has shown, this self is always moving through a space of questions. There can be some thematic affinity amongst these questions but these constructions of the self or selves is always fluid and dynamic. The reason can be found in Anthony Elliott's book *Concepts of the Self* (2001), in which Elliott correctly identifies the primary division in theoretical conceptions of the self: "those that deny the agency of human subject and argue in favour of the persons determination by social structures and those that celebrate the authenticity and creativity of the self on the other" (Elliott 2001, 7). While Taylor correctly points out that the self can only ever be understood through their own self-interpretations, these "understandings and interpretations" (Taylor 1993, 34) are always "interpersonally constructed" (Elliott 2001, 5). As Elliott writes, "Social processes in part constitute, and so in a sense are internal to, the self" (Elliott 2001, 5). This dissertation is primarily concerned with tracing the textual and material evidence of this ongoing process of self-understanding in twentieth century American culture. Both James's essay *The Gospel of Relaxation* and Annie Payson Call's *The Power of Repose* recommend changes both in outlook and behaviour in order to achieve relaxation and, by extension, self-realisation. As Robert C. Fuller and John Baur have shown in *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life* and *The Health Seekers of Southern California 1870-1900* (2008) respectively, there were changes not just in conceptual formations of the self, but also changes that became manifest in various spatial, medical and religious practices.

As we will see in the following chapters, although the term lifestyle remains a slippery concept broadly encompassing a curated set of aesthetic, behavioural and consumer choices, it does exist, much like the idea of personality, at the threshold between the interior self and the social self. Lifestyle exists both as a constitutive element in the construction of the self and as a material, commercial, and aesthetic manifestation of these very constructions.

Chapter Two

Negotiation: Narratives and Experience in Yosemite Valley

This chapter considers three texts which all speak about one particular place: Yosemite. J.M. Hutchings's *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (1862), John Muir's *My First Summer in the Sierra* (1911), and Thérèse Yelverton's *Zanita: A Tale of the Yo-Semite* (1872). Each takes Yosemite as both the subject of its narrative and the place inhabited by other subjects within the narrative. In different ways, each author takes Yosemite to be both a character and a setting. I would argue that this is not a unique condition of Yosemite, but is rather an indication that Yosemite, as described in these narratives, is a complete landscape in and of itself. "The idea of landscape", as Denis Cosgrove writes, "is the most significant expression of the historical attempt to bring together visual image and material world" (Cosgrove cited in Minca 2007, 433). This definition of landscape is the basis for geographer Claudio Minca's later definition of tourism as "based on the reproduction (and re-enactment) of the coming together of representation and (bodily) experience, of abstraction and materiality" (Minca, 2007). In other words, the tourist in Yosemite is caught between the idea of Yosemite and their actual experience of the place. The three narratives in this chapter each provide different strategies for shepherding the tourist between representations of Yosemite and the bodily experience of the actual visit. These narratives of experience offer what I view as a vital aspect of deliberate culture. I argue that in California during this period, wilderness became a site to be experienced through simultaneous acts of viewing and touring, and that it was through these two acts that tourists performed and narrated lifestyle.

For J.M. Hutchings, Yosemite's first commercial hotelier, the purpose of writing the first guidebook to the area was to bridge the gap between representations of Yosemite and the experience of Yosemite. His narrative deploys a series of different registers: it is, by turns, didactic, dramatic, nationalistic, romantic and pragmatic. His guidebook, with its many embedded narratives, graphs, pictures and itineraries, serves as a model in the creation of place through the production of a cultural product.

For John Muir, the story is more complicated. Although he did not positively appreciate tourists, it was precisely their unwillingness to fully experience his view of the wilderness that motivates his narrative. Many of Muir's texts are filled with the paradoxical impulse to both preserve and advertise the qualities of those sites that are seemingly uninhabited by man. Muir's career can be seen as a lifelong campaign to frame wilderness as a pristine place for pristine people. His preservationist ethic was deeply rooted in the desire for the status quo: as much as he wanted to freeze the wilderness in its current state, he had an equally parochial and static view of human society. Muir saw tourists as always looking backwards to the representational frame, to "points of interests" on the map, to confirm their reality, even when confronted with the overwhelming call of the wilderness. However, as I will later show, Muir's own desire to truly experience nature was directly influenced by a western European aesthetic tradition that continually circulated through discrete narrative frames. Indeed, although Muir's account is filled with vivid description of pseudo-scientific rigour, it was Muir, more than Yelverton and Hutchings, who promoted the tourist fantasy of Yosemite as a site for the authentic appreciation of wilderness.

Finally Thérèse Yelverton, born Marie Theresa Longworth, otherwise known as the Viscountess of Avonmore, was an early tourist of Yosemite. Thérèse Yelverton had

been at the center of a marriage dispute with Major William Charles Yelverton, Viscount of Avonmore. This dispute revolved around Charles Yelverton's secret marriage to another, wealthier woman and subsequent denial of his marriage to Thérèse. This famous case, coined as 'the Yelverton affair' ultimately ended in a trial in the House of Lords. At her trial, Yelverton spoke for hours in her own defence, and became a national news sensation. Despite her cause being taken up by the penny-press, the Lords found against her. Subsequently, her husband was able to strip her of her hereditary lands and fortune (Sanborn 1991, vii-xxxvi). Penniless but with a high degree of social capital, Teresa Yelverton embarked on a peripatetic life which she documented and turned into a series of novels and travel accounts. *Zanita: A Tale of Yosemite* (1991) first published in 1872 by Hurd and Houghton in New York is a romantic novel set within Yosemite.

This novel is noteworthy on three accounts. First, although fictional, many of the characters closely resemble historical figures including J.M. Hutchings and John Muir. Second, the narrator of the novel, Mrs. Sylvia Brown, a thinly veiled Therese, was the sort of tourist who Hutchings courted and Muir disliked. Silvia Brown, although obviously not some embodiment of all tourists, performs the movement from home to wilderness or as Minca coins it, from order to disorder (Minca 2007, 433-453). And finally, Yelverton's novel, in a most explicit fashion, plays out the tension between representation and corporeal experience. Yosemite itself, as both a place and a culturally constructed set of expectations and experiences, becomes literally embodied by the character of Zanita. The fictional child of J.M. Hutchings, Zanita is adopted by the fictional Mrs. Brown and undergoes a process of de-wilding. Attempts by Mrs. Brown to domesticate Zanita at her home in Oakland give the clearest example of the deeply interpenetrating relationship between bodies, landscape and the domestic sphere.

Yosemite: The Making of a Wilderness for Tourists

In the American West, the rise of tourism was predicated on an experience of wilderness. During this period, the place we call the American West, roughly defined as that land west of the Mississippi River, existed as contested territory. American expansion west and the closure of the frontier were inexorably bound up in the encroachment of the Anglo-American civilisation into what was perceived to be wilderness. In *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1982), Roderick Nash writes about the slippery nature of the term:

> 'Wilderness' has a deceptive concreteness at first glance. The difficulty is that while the word is a noun it acts like an adjective. There is no specific material object that is wilderness. The term designates a quality that produces a certain mood or feeling in a given individual and as a consequence may be assigned by that person to a specific place… Wilderness, in short, is so heavily freighted with meaning of a personal, symbolic and changing kind as to resist easy definition. (Nash [1982] 2001, 1)

Wilderness, as Nash articulates, wanders through various definitions each given substance by context that can be at once social, political, personal, historical and symbolic. In the case of Yosemite, as both a historical and a contemporary site, wilderness was defined by the cultural production of Yosemite as a site designated for the performance of people in nature.

William Cronon in his article "The Trouble with Wilderness or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," argues that wilderness is "far from being the one place on earth that stands apart from humanity" (Cronon 1996, 69). According to Cronon, the pleasant memories we associate with wilderness, such as the escape from the crowds, the "torrents of mists" (Cronon 1996, 70) from a Sierra waterfall or the "rich smell of the pines" (Cronon 1996, 70) "is entirely a cultural invention" (Cronon 1996, 70). However, a very literal definition of wilderness can more firmly ground the concept. The OED

defines it as “wild or uncultivated land” (OED Online, 2011). The OED then defines wild as “of an animal: living in a state of nature, not tame, not domesticated” (OED Online, 2011). Thus a defining characteristic of wilderness is that it exists as the opposite of or outside of man.

The concept of wilderness can then be said to relate directly to an economy of place, where a portion of nature becomes the domain of man, while other places, by virtue of their exclusion, are understood as wilderness. I use the term ‘economy of place’ to remain attentive to the plastic exchange between the unknown of the wilderness and the colonised property of the mind. Nash clearly illustrates what I will call the lived experience of wilderness when he recounts that the early pioneers of the Michigan Territory thought Alexis De Tocqueville crazy for wanting “to travel for pleasure into the primitive forests” (Nash 2001, 23). Nash observes that the pioneers in early America confronted virgin forest in a way that Europeans had not since the early medieval period. Furthermore, Nash points out that the civilisation that the pioneers had carved out was all too often subsumed back into the howling wilds by all manner of natural catastrophe (Nash 2001, 24). Although Cronon makes a claim about the cultural construction of wilderness, there exists an experience of place where that which exists outside ourselves challenges narratives we use to frame experience. This place may be one mile from a city or deep in the Australian outback. This lived experience of wilderness is best expressed by the thousands of hikers who get lost each year only miles from the ‘safety’ of civilisation. While that hiker may be wandering lost in a place long deemed to be tamed and inhabited, their own bodily experience renders the space around them a wilderness. In short, within the idea of wilderness there exists a basic tension between its cultural representation and a lived experience of place.

Arguably, wilderness as a place actually directs attention to the discrepancy between our cultural, social and linguistic constructions and our lived experience. Tourism through its performance of travel, forces a similar confrontation between the world we construct for ourselves and the world with which we are confronted. Wilderness tourism, in its attempt to order, package and commodify the wilderness landscape, is required to constantly navigate the canyon between the representations and actual experience of a place.

Between 1851 and 1910, Yosemite Valley in California provided a stage for the growth of wilderness tourism. The later half of the nineteenth century saw the rapid expansion of the railroad into areas understood to be wilderness. With the taming of this new space, wilderness began to become defined "not just by those who were building settlements in its midst" (Cronon 1996, 71) but also by a new spectrum of travellers and tourists. While authors such as Mary Hunter Austin, in *The Land of Little Rain* (1903) and *The Flock* (1906) emphasised the experience of inhabitants of a place through labour, the writing of Hutchings, Muir and Yelverton mark a shift in the role of the California landscape. Wilderness became a site to be experienced through acts of viewing and touring.

Protected by Senate Bill 203 in 1864, Yosemite Valley, originally called Ah-wa-nee by the local Native Americans, was discovered by white Anglo-Americans of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851 (Sears 1989, 124). James Mason Hutchings "led the first group of tourists into the valley in 1855 (Sears 1989, 124). From its naming by the Americans as Yosemite, "derived from the Mewok-Paiute word for Grizzly Bear" (Sears 1989, 150), this valley in the Western Sierra Nevada mountains of California became the site for a discourse on the definition and subsequent use of wilderness landscape.

Frederick Law Olmsted, the landscape architect responsible for the design of Central Park in New York City, articulates the tension contained within Yosemite in his 1868 article for the *New York Evening Post*:

> The main feature of the Yo-Semite is best indicated in one word as a chasm. It is a chasm nearly a mile in average width, however, and more than ten miles in length. The central and broader part of this chasm is occupied at the bottom by a series of groves of magnificent trees, and meadows of the most varied, luxuriant and exquisite herbage, through which meanders a broad stream of the clearest water, rippling over a pebbly bottom, and eddying among banks of ferns and rushes; sometimes narrowed into sparkling rapids and sometimes expanding into placid pools which reflect the wondrous heights on either side. (Olmsted, 1868)

Here Olmsted, considered a visionary of the modern park movement, describes both the gigantic and the park-like qualities of Yosemite. Olmsted describes first a great chasm and then a park-like valley. Yosemite Valley, due to "centuries of Native American land management" (Nelson 2001, 305) did indeed have the open managed quality of an ideal middle landscape, between urban and rural, that Olmsted envisioned for the planned parks of urban America. Yosemite offered many salves to an anxious young country devoid of a European history. As both scenic and monumental, Yosemite was ripe for symbolic colonisation. Alfred Runte, in *National Parks: The American Experience* (1997) points out that "the purpose of the park, as indicated by the placement of its boundaries, was strictly scenic…Monumentalism, not environmentalism, was the driving impetus behind the 1864 Yosemite Act" (29). However, in order to arrive at the valley floor, at the 'park' in the heart of Yosemite, one had to travel up and over Olmsted's great "chasm". Wilderness literally encircled Olmsted's park.

Views and Experiences in James Mason Hutchings's Yosemite Guidebook

James Mason Hutchings, "journalist, hotel keeper, and self appointed guardian of the Valley" (Starr 1973, 181) dedicated himself to promoting Yosemite Valley as "the high shrine of California pilgrimage" (Starr, 1973, 181). John Sears in *Sacred Places* (1989) cites Hutchings as "the person who most swiftly and clearly recognised Yosemite's potential" (Sears 1989, 124). In 1856, he produced *Hutchings Illustrated California Magazine* and in 1859 he settled in the valley permanently as a tourist guide and owner of a hotel (Starr 1973, 181). Although Hutchings was among a growing number of entrepreneurs who began to set up small concessions and hotels within or near Yosemite, it was his acumen in "employing the means of cultural production" (Sears 1989, 125) that established Hutchings as the first significant tourist guide in Yosemite Valley. The artist Thomas Ayers accompanied him during his expedition to Yosemite in 1856. Ayers's drawings appeared in *California Magazine* in June of 1856 and *Harpers Illustrated Monthly* in 1859. Hutchings was also responsible for bringing the first, although little known, photographer Charles Leander Weed to the Yosemite Valley (Sears 1989, 125). In Hutchings's guide to Yosemite all of Weed's photographs were printed on an engraving transfer. Mediated and framed by the engraving plate, and then embellished with drawn-in figures and impressionistic shading, they lose the veritas of appearance and are neutered into a gentile pictorialism. The Yosemite that Hutchings portrays in his guide is one that becomes domesticated through the very act of the tour. There is little doubt that early tours to Yosemite exploited ideas of the wild and wilderness in building its reputation. The guidebook and the tour became the technical and material means by which the wilderness would be both experienced and overcome.

Hutchings's *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (1862) is considered the first official guidebook to Yosemite. As Marguerite Shaffer writes in *See America First: Tourism and National Identity 1880-1940* (2001), Hutchings was among a number of independent writers and publishers who sought to "establish a canon of American tourist attractions" (172). George Crufutt published his *Great Transcontinental Railroad Guide* in 1869 and William Cullen Bryant published the seminal *Picturesque America* in 1872 and 1874 (Shaffer 2001, 172-174). Thus Hutchings was not only an early Yosemite entrepreneur, moving quickly from tourist to guide, but also one of the first writers to provide a codified topology of sights and experiences in nineteenth-century California. His itinerary of travel lays out both a topographical and temporal program for the early tourist in California. His guide provides an episodic template to travel, thus marking the shift in the visitor to California from traveller to tourist.

While Hutchings's *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity* provides an itinerary of travel to various sight of interest in California, including the Calaveras redwood groves, San Francisco and Mount Shasta, Hutchings reveals his personal affinity for Yosemite by rather awkwardly placing what can best be described as his 'thesis' squarely in the middle of the guidebook. *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity* opens with a description of California's mammoth trees. Only in his fourth chapter, after sixty-seven pages, does Hutchings lay out his "inducements to travel - California Landscape scenery" (Hutchings 1862, 2). Hutchings's fourth chapter reveals that Yosemite was indeed both at the heart of this work and central to the tourist experience that Hutchings sought to commodify. Seen here are the image and two poems with which Hutchings chose to open his chapter on Yosemite:

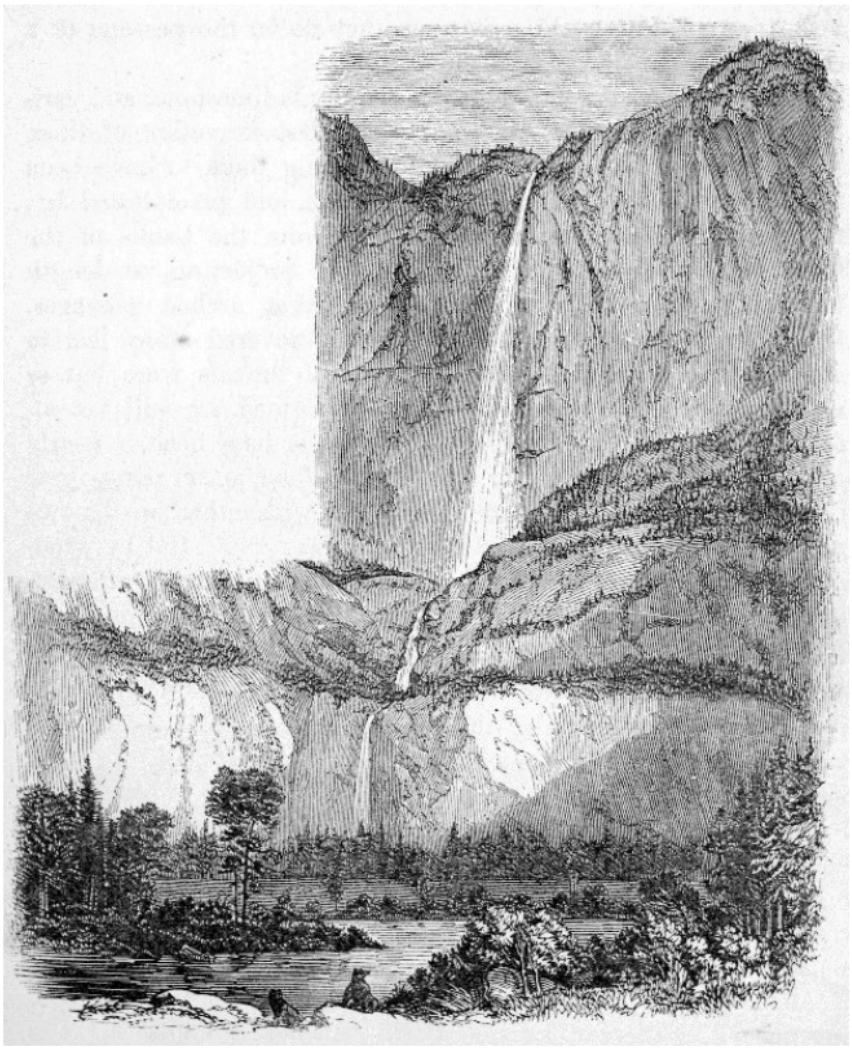


Figure 1
Artist unknown. 1862. “The Yo-semite waterfall, two thousand five hundred feet and fifty in height. From a photograph by C. L. Weed.” Medium unknown. Source: J.M. Hutchings, *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California,* 61-62.

“Where rose the mountains, there to him were friends;
Where rolled the ocean, thereon, was his home;
Where a blue sky and glowing clime extends,
He had the passion and the power to roam;
The desert, forest, cavern, breakers’ foam,
Were unto him companionship.”
(‘Childe Harold’ by Lord Byron, cited in Hutchings 1862, 61-62)

“If thou art worn and hard beset
With sorrows, that thou wouldst forget;
If thou wouldst read a lesson that will keep
Thy heart from fainting, and thy soul from sleep—
Go to the woods and hills.”
(‘Sunrise on the Hills’ by Longfellow, cited in Hutchings 1862, 61-62)

These two poems introduce Yosemite as a wilderness landscape. In the first poem, the movement of the lines rests on the combination of sublime landscapes with tropes of domesticity. For the subject of the poem, the ocean becomes a home and the mountains become his friends. Places that had been defined by their opposition to man and his domain become legitimate spaces for the colonisation of the domestic sphere. William Cronon correctly identifies this theme as central to the transformation of the concept of wilderness in nineteenth century America. For Cronon, early tourists to western America were distinct from pioneers in that they existed in an economy of leisure and participated in revaluation of wilderness. Cronon is not alone among historians of the American West (Nash 2001, Shaffer 2001, Sears 1989, Demars 1991) in identifying the Picturesque as a standard many early tourists used to reevaluate the wilderness landscape. Cronon terms this "the domesticated sublime" (Cronon 75). This term will prove useful in understanding how visitors to early Yosemite were able to reconcile "a paradoxical relationship between different epistemological fields" (Minca 2007, 434). Minca suggests that tourist seek out "an impossible balance between the need for order in the world — mapped and mappable tourist spaces, landscapes and cultures — and the desire/possibility of transgressing that same order, of going behind and beyond the 'map'" (Minca, 2008, 434). Due to its remote location and relatively late discovery by white Anglo-Americans, Yosemite was a tourist destination of both sublime scenery (picturesquely appreciated) and 'actual' wilderness. When I use the term 'actual' I am not implying that Yosemite was uninhabited – Native Americans had been in the Valley for hundreds of years – but rather that the experience of those who traveled to Yosemite was one predicated on an immersion into an alien environment seemingly outside the inhabited zone. Yosemite was thus a prime site for this negotiation of order and disorder.

It can be of little surprise then that representations of Yosemite, as produced in narratives, photographs, itineraries, guidebooks, and postcards, relied on metaphors of home to domesticate the landscape.

The second poem cited by Cronon echoes sentiments established in the Old Testament story of Exodus (Nash 2001, 16). The Israelite's experience of wandering in the desert, "established a tradition of going to the wilderness for freedom and purification of faith" (Nash 2001, 16). Through the use of this poem, Hutchings evokes this particular representation of wilderness. The poem is meant to suggest that a trip to Yosemite will provide escape and rejuvenation. While an escape from 'civilisation' or everyday life would seem an obvious consequence of a trip to Yosemite, the difficulty of travel and the remoteness of the valley required a reinterpretation of familiar ideas of rejuvenation. As John Baur has argued in *Health Seekers of Southern California 1870-1900* (2008), the environment as cure became a key concept in the development of the desert landscape of Southern California. Looking closely at the manner in which Hutchings sells the curative benefits of a trip to Yosemite demonstrates his curious negotiation of representation and bodily experience. While the experience of traveling to Yosemite in the 1870's would have been arduous and long, Hutchings relies on the experience of the Yosemite landscape to fulfil representational expectations of picturesque scenery. The fulfilment of this expectation, the authentication of landscape through representation, is the visual process by which the tourist rejuvenates himself.

In beginning his chapter on Yosemite with these two poems, Hutchings introduces themes that continue throughout his narrative: wilderness, rejuvenation, the sublime, the domestic. His own narrative begins by listing possible motivations for travel while simultaneously belittling their individual importance:

> The reader knows as well as we do, that, although it may be of but little consequence in point of fact, whether a spirit of romance, the love of the grand and beautiful in scenery, the suggestions or promptings of a fascinating woman — be she friend, sweet-heart, or wife — the desire for change, the want of recreation, or the necessity of a restoration and recuperation of an over-tasked physical or mental organization, or both — whatever may be the agent that first gives birth to the wish for, or the love of travel; when the mind is thoroughly made up, and the committee of ways and means reports itself financially prepared to undertake the pleasurable task — in order to enjoy it with luxurious zest, we must resolve upon four things… (Hutchings 1862, 62)

Although Hutchings pays homage to possible motivations for travel, he views these "of little consequence". For Hutchings, once an "agent" has given "birth to the wish for… travel", it is only the "committee of ways and means" that must "report itself financially prepared". This is a tactful nod to the fact that for most people in 1862 travel to Yosemite was prohibitively expensive. The type of tour that Hutchings describes was available only to the wealthy. Earl Pomeroy in *In Search for the Golden West* (2010), states that in the latter half of the nineteenth century "a stage coach fare for a trip from San Francisco to Yosemite came to around eighty dollars" (Pomeroy 2010, 7). This however does not mean that Hutchings was without a market. In *The Tourist in Yosemite* (1991) Stanford Demars describes a "well established leisure society" that "by the middle of the nineteenth century" (10) has established tourism as a major inducement for travel. In *Americans and the California Dream* (1973), Kevin Starr describes a particular type of Californian who, by the end of the century, "lived in beautiful homes (developing indeed, a regional architectural style), worked just hard enough at their careers to sustain a rich and varied life, read widely, and loved the outdoors" (Starr, 1973, 190). This concept is key to this dissertation. This chapter concentrates on a varied life and love of the outdoors. Furthermore Starr's description also articulates the aspirations and self conception of the very figures he seeks to describe, including

George Wharton James and Charles Lummis. This emergence of deliberate culture is central to my elabouration of lifestyle in California, and Chapters 3 and 4 look more closely at regional architecture and the desire to live a good life in a beautiful home.

Starr's observation combines concepts of a culture representing itself, as with "regional architecture" and "reading widely", with concepts that are linked to a lived bodily experience such as "a rich and varied life" and a "love of the outdoors". For Hutchings the importance of cultivating a particular type of experience can be seen in the criteria that he sets out as necessary to the tourist in Yosemite. After initial pecuniary considerations, and regardless of motivation, the traveller in Yosemite must agree, "*first,* to leave the 'peck of troubles,' and a few thrown in, entirely behind; *second,* to have none but good, suitable, and genial-hearted companions; *third,* a sufficient supply of personal patience, good humour, forbearance, and creature comforts for all emergencies; and, *fourth,* not to be in a hurry" (Hutchings 1862, 62).

The first of Hutchings's requirements for the Yosemite tourist points to Yosemite as a site for escape from the everyday. While a tourist's troubles may actually persist despite his departure, this performance of "leaving troubles behind" includes the physical act of leaving home. This may seem an obvious observation, but indeed the experience of leaving for a prescribed amount of time acts as a proxy experience for the actual desired absolution of one's problems. In the face of not actually being able to run away from one's troubles, tourism becomes a kind of therapeutic performance that mimics this more primary fantasy.

The second of Hutchings's rules, particularly the use of the word "suitable", again speaks directly to the significance of socio-economic class in early Yosemite tourism. Hutchings is also correct in emphasising the importance of companionship on

his tour because his third rule implies that a journey to Yosemite would be slow, uncomfortable and possibly dangerous. The first tourists to Yosemite required not only the cash but also the moxie and cultural pedigree to find rejuvenation in such a tour. Hutchings's guide is in part a didactic narrative, instructing those with the material means in the correct performative perspectives and postures for viewing the natural environment. Hutchings's final edict for travel was to "not be in a hurry". This is similar to his first rule in that this dictate urges the tourist to pretend that one has been flung out of time, for a time. Of course Hutchings's guide to Yosemite was created to provide a discrete experience of set duration. The Yosemite chapter provides a detailed guide for an eight-day journey. In this fourth rule, Hutchings demonstrates an understanding of temporal experience fundamental to the act of tourism. Tourist time is totally determined. However, in creating a temporal enclosure, the tourist, for a moment, can redefine their personal relationship to time.

In Hutchings's guide there is a fundamental tension between the tour marking out the durational limits of a particular experience while simultaneously opening up Yosemite as a site removed from time. In "Itineraries and the Tourist Experience" (2006), Nina Wang points out that itineraries "as spatio-temporal carriers of tourism commodities…constitute the media that bridge experience and goods…" (Wang 2006, 66). Wang goes on to explain that commodities take on both material and dematerialised forms (Wang 67, 2006). On the tour, material commodities take the obvious form of material necessity, such as provisions, vehicles for transportation and shelter. For Wang the itinerary is the "nonmaterial form" that creates a "system of links between the temporal and spatial arrangements of tourist activities on the tourist journey" (Wang 2006, 67). Hutchings's guide goes well beyond the task of

creating a system of spatial and temporal linkages. While it is indeed the "media bridge" between material and nonmaterial forms, his guide provides a context from which the tourist can begin to frame their own experiences. Wang emphasises the role of the itinerary in turning the intangible experience of the tour into a commodity. This is obviously true for Hutchings's *Scenes in California.* However, in its candid handling of the financial requirements of such a trip, Hutchings's guide takes the commodification of "the Yosemite experience" as a given and spends rather more time proving that the money spent stands in paltry comparison to the experience gained. Towards the beginning of his guide, Hutchings notes:

> In the later years, other employments and enjoyments have been entertained as worthy of the attention of the residents and visitors of this coast, than money making. Now, there are many who throng the highway of elevating and refining pleasure, in spring and summer, to feast the eye and mind upon the beautiful. (Hutchings 1862, 63)

Here Hutchings makes reference to a major social rift in nineteenth century California. He elevates the notion of viewing the land over using the land. He appropriates the vernacular of the miner or pioneer for whom roads and trails were the conduits of goods and labour, and activates the highway not as a means to an end but as the literal means for "elevating and refining" pleasure in the form of gold. On this highway of delights, sights become feasts, as the eye becomes not just a window but a screen door through which a whole range of sensual corporeal experiences can be safely consumed from a refined distance. Hutchings's movement away from money making is significant in that he is advocating a slow appreciation of nature and beauty. This kind of self-cultivation in tandem with the cultivation and sale of land becomes central to the later development of California Lifestyle.

After writing his introductory remarks, Hutchings begins a section titled 'The Circumstances that led to its Discovery'. Although compiled by Hutchings, the story of the discovery of Yosemite relies heavily on lengthy quotations from the accounts of others. Hutchings begins the tale in his own voice but two pages into the narration an asterisk informs us that a Mr. J. M. Cunningham communicated all the preceding 'facts', presumably under informal circumstances. Shortly thereafter, Hutchings relies on the written account of a doctor L.H. Bunnell. Bunnell was deployed with the battalion that first discovered Yosemite for European Americans. Later, in 1889 Lafayette Bunnell was to publish *Discovery of the Yosemite and the Indian Wars of 1851* (Sears 1989, 149). Thus it is very possible that Hutchings is relying on a draft of this later account. He also includes an excerpt from Horace Greeley, an uncited Indian legend, a poem by Thomas Moore, and a lengthy quote by a Rev. P. V. Veeder. By allowing multiple, albeit white, Anglo-American, voices to speak through his narrative, Hutchings enables a dynamic confluence of representational frames to co-exist within his text. Myth, hearsay, travel narratives, topographic description, photo-derived engraving, empirical journey tables and poetry all come together to locate the reader within a discrete yet polyvocal representational matrix.

Hutchings is not alone in this procedure. He participates in a particular tradition of guide-book narrative construction. The tradition out of which Hutchings writes is that of the British guide book. By the time that Hutchings had published his guide to California, both the Baedeker guides and Thomas Cook tours had helped to establish a middle class tourist infrastructure in Europe. Unlike their earlier aristocratic cousins, for whom the Grand Tour was an essential element of sophisticate inculcation, these new

tours emphasised the experience of viewing. Landscape became something to be experienced. The value of an experience became a commodity for exchange.

The success of these and related enterprises was due, at least in part, to the influence of William Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye* (1782) and Edmund Burke's *Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757). While Burke undoubtedly provided criteria for looking, or at least criteria around which a debate about looking could be structured, Gilpin instructed the reader where and how to apply aesthetic judgment onto a landscape. In *Observations on the River Wye,* Gilpin's procedures can be actively imitated but his exact travel has to be passively followed. It was not Gilpin but Thomas West in his *A Guide to the Lakes* (1778) who created the modern itinerary. According to Malcolm Andrews, an editor of a modern volume containing *A Guide to the Lakes* (1778), West was "an antiquarian and topographer, who held a chaplaincy on the southern border of the Lake District" (Andrews 1994, 281). The *Guide to the Lakes "*special appeal lay in its methods of identifying particular 'stations' in the Lake District from which the tourist could 'take the views'" (Andrews 1994, 281). Although West may not have been the first or only writer to begin the codification of particular locations suitable for the viewing and appreciation of landscape, his work marks the integration of what Nina Wang terms "material and experience" (Wang, 2006, 67). By establishing a series of 'stations' from which to view the landscape, West establishes the Lake District as containing two distinct yet codependent tourist spaces. The first is the space of the Landscape, which is at once penetrated through the act of travel, and distanced through the act of viewing. The second space is the site of viewing or West's "stations". These points in space and time (for viewing is done at particular hours) becomes named,

colonised and institutionalised by the tourist and his attendant infrastructure. Through collecting these ‘stations’ and the networks that connect and support them, West organises the Lake District via static sites and rigid routes for the individual experience of viewing and touring.

Writing his guide in 1862, Hutchings would have been well aware of an established tradition of European and early American guidebooks. Through the incorporation of various narrative frames, such as poetry, anecdotes, topographic description, and empirical tables, Hutchings grapples to satisfy both Gilpin and Burke’s criteria for viewing and experiencing Yosemite within his equivalently ordered sequence of ‘stations’ as established by West.

After the introductory remarks, and telling of the origins of Yosemite, Hutchings’s guide begins the journey into Yosemite Valley. The section titled, “The various routes to the Yo-semite Valley” (Hutchings 1862, 78) is primarily concerned with the material and pragmatic concerns of the journey. The narrative traces a hypothetical journey into the valley. Although structured as a story, with light descriptions of passing sights, the focus of this section remains solidly logistical and pecuniary. Routes, distances, and most importantly, costs move the action of the narrative forward.

The whole of the tourist experience, including Hutchings’s guide, rests on the successful exchange of material wealth for experience. This moment of exchange, where the journey becomes ‘worth the trip’, finds expression in those aspects of the tour where the deliberate, conscious, and expensive enclosure of time and space allows for a quality of experience that appears to transcend the base materialism of existence and thereby justifies its transcendent ends to its very material means. As the visitor

approaches the crest of the Yosemite Valley, that geographical point from which the whole undulating glaciated mass of granite and woodland unfolds itself before the visitor, Hutchings anticipates the first impression:

> The truth is, the first view of this convulsion-rent valley, with its perpendicular mountain cliffs, deep gorges, and awful chasms, spread out before us like a mysterious scroll, takes away the power of thinking, much less clothing thoughts with suitable language. (Hutchings 1862, 86)

The experience of the first view of Yosemite is framed as one not of thought but of profound feeling. Hutchings focuses on the violence of being relieved of thought and language. After quoting scripture to emphasise the failure of mortal articulation, it would seem that Hutchings's hypothetical tourist recovers himself enough to speak. However, when he does speak, he does so without irony of silence:

> 'This is verily the stand-point of silence!' at length escapes in whispering huskiness, from the lips of one of our number. 'Let us name this spot *The Standpoint of Silence.'* And so let it be written in the note-book of every tourist, as it will be in his inmost soul when he looks at the appalling grandeur of the Yo-semite Valley from this spot. (Hutchings 1862, 87)

For a point of silence, this location speaks volumes. First from the whispering lips of the hypothetical tourist, then onto the notebook of every tourist, and finally inscribed onto their soul, the trajectory of the place, now named, traces a procedure fundamental to the tourist as a particular type of modern subject. This procedure is key to the reflexive process of self-fashioning out of which lifestyle emerged. Central to this procedure is the link between the materiality of place and the temporality of experience. First, the experience of viewing becomes reified in the "standpoint" or "station". Then this newly possessed space receives a proper name that refers to its experiential effects. Next, this new proper name moves from lips to a notebook and finally to a soul.

Hutchings creates a closed circuit between the creation of place, the act of viewing and its attendant, transcendent inner experience. A tenuous, highly contradictory link is formed between the materiality of the place and the immaterial register of experience. For Hutchings and his guide, the whole operation of the tour rests on the perceived exchange value of the experience of looking. The necessity for the experience of the tour and its 'views' to equal or exceed its material cost is made explicit by another of Hutchings's hypothetical tourists when, upon viewing the valley, they exclaim, "I am satisfied...this sight is worth ten years labour" (Hutchings 1862, 87). And yet the experience of touring and viewing is further burdened by having to account for itself in an economy of experience as well. In another anecdote, a tourist who was "sick with fever" and "would not have started on this trip...for ten thousand dollars" exclaims upon viewing Yosemite, "I would gladly undergo a thousand times as much, could I endure it, and be able to look upon another such a scene" (Hutchings 1869, 88). In this way Hutchings deploys such a variety of representational frames, from embedded myths to the empirical tables, as supportive armature for the dynamic experience of toured viewing. The practical difficulties and high cost of travel to Yosemite during this period force Hutchings and his guide to promise radical compensation.

Hutchings's guide to Yosemite promises an experience that exceeds its material value. By layering his guide book in narratives of varied register and type, he creates a layered context into which the tourist can experience the tour. Framed by stories and anecdotes, informed through tables and charts, and assiduously guided, step by step, Hutchings's guide provides the tourist with both the landscape, the means for moving through it, and the criteria for its assessment. Hutchings's desire to guide the tourist is so great that he attempts to direct even the movement of the eye:

> In order to see this to its best advantage, the eye should take in only the foot of the fall at first; then a short section upward; then higher, until, by degrees, the top is reached. In this way the majesty of the waterfall is more fully realized and appreciated. (Hutchings 1862, 108)

After what would have been an arduous journey into Yosemite, there is little rest for a tourist following Hutchings's guide. Having reached and named the *Standpoint of Silence,* Hutchings's guidebook leads the tourist down into Yosemite Valley. Along the way he provides a long quote by Horace Greeley on the particular beauty of the California mountains. Here Hutchings's guide is very useful in demonstrating the necessary double face of a touring subject. At first rendered silent by the awe of the spectacle, Hutchings next provides the cultural crutch of an East Coast newspaperman to assure that silence is a temporary condition, and the tourist is safe in the warm embrace of cultural context. As the tourist descends into Yosemite Valley, the emphasis shifts from viewing the scene from a fixed point to physically entering and traversing the landscape. West's stations become dynamic routes through which the view unfolds. Although the viewing stations become dynamic, the landscape remains a series of unfolding pictures: "At every step some new picture of great beauty presents itself, and some new shapes and shadows from trees and mountains from new combinations of light and shade, in this great kaleidoscope of nature" (Hutchings 1862, 94).

In Hutchings's guide, Yosemite is not an environment to be entered and experienced. It is a series of unfolding views. The experience of Yosemite as a vast site for viewing is so emphasised that even descriptions of the tourists and their lived experience of the tour is understood as the unfolding of yet another happy view:

> The picturesque wildness of the scene on every hand; the exciting wonders of so romantic a journey; the difficulties surmounted; dangers braved and overcome, puts us in possession of one unanimous feeling of unalloyed delight; so that when we

> reach the foot of the mountain, and look upon the beautiful rapids of a river rolling and swelling at the side of the trail...we congratulate each other upon looking the very picture of happiness personified. (Hutchings 1862, 91)

While this passage does indeed make reference to “difficulties surmounted” and the abstract pleasure of a “romantic journey”, even the possession of “ unalloyed delight”, these are only experienced second hand, through the gaze of another. The congratulations from one’s fellow tourists for “looking” the very “picture of happiness personified”, becomes the visual validation for the whole spectrum of experience.

Hutchings's guide to Yosemite establishes an economy between the material experience of travel, where expense of effort and capital are exchanged for physical entrance into a series of codified views, . The guidebook’s structure does not only establish the expectations of the tourist, it also regulates these expectations. Handmaiden to expectation is disappointment. Barbara Penner in *Newlyweds on Tour* (2009) quotes Robert Louis Stevenson when he says that “Sight-seeing is the art of disappointment” (Stevenson cited in Penner 2009, 175). The duration of the tour and the structure of the itinerary always mark out the tourist experience as perpetually insufficient. Hutchings notes that the tourist “always contrasts that which he saw with that which he might have seen, and becomes dissatisfied...in spending so much time as well as money...and then riding off without seeing more than a limited portion of such remarkable scenes” (Hutchings 1862, 136).

In 1862, a trip to Yosemite would test the limits of the logic of tourism. So great was the difficulty and cost that Hutchings deploys an array of narrative techniques to secure the impact of his ordered views. He goes to great lengths to subsume a whole spectrum of sense and feeling into a pictorial regime. It would be naive to think that

tourists following Hutchings's guide would remain comfortable within such a limited frame. Hutchings's tourist constructs their subjective position through a process of negotiation with these static predefined conditions for their experience. The other two authors in this chapter provide a spectrum through which the subjective position of the tourist can be plotted.

Labour and Leisure: John Muir as the Reluctant Tour Guide

On the other end of this spectrum sits John Muir. While Muir remained ambivalent about tourism in Yosemite, his strategy for navigating around narrative frames towards an idea of experience, serves tourists, even today, as a guide through the operations and infrastructure of the rigid tour. Although he disliked tourists and thought them "wholly unconscious of anything" (Muir 1911, 255), Muir's writing betrays a specific kind of tourist fantasy. Muir seeks to enter Yosemite wholly and completely. He has little interest in reflexive subjectivity, and articulates his perceptions only so that they might more fully bridge the gulf between himself and the world. While Hutchings's tourist exists in a funhouse of picturesque views, Muir indulges in the belief that one could enter a landscape, and through feats of perception, form an equal and harmonious relation with the outside. In short, Muir articulates a desire to physically experience the landscape.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Muir was a key figure in making Yosemite what Kevin Starr calls "the high shrine of California pilgrimage" (Starr 1973, 181). John Muir helped secure Yosemite as the primary California location where the tourist could engage in a ritual appreciation of nature through consumption and visual spectacle. While Frederick Law Olmsted, the architect of Central Park in New York,

successfully lobbied congress in 1864 to set aside a huge track of the Sierras, including Yosemite for preservation, it was John Muir who "upgraded the entire Californian relationship to the mountains" (Starr 1973, 182-186). As one of the founding members of the Sierra Club, he remains a central figure in the developing relationship between the white American tourist and the western landscape.

Central to understanding Muir's own writing are two interpenetrating subjective positions; Muir as Mountaineer and Muir as Author. There is a restless, unsettled quality to Muir's writing. His writing moves between dense description, biographical sketch and ecclesiastical transcendence. In *Fall into Eden: Landscape and Imagination in California* (1988) David Wyatt notes the "extreme tensions in Muir's recorded experience - between spectatorship and participation" (45). The critical writings by Barry Nelson, Kevin Starr, David Wyatt and Roderick Nash help to locate Muir within a larger literary, historical and political context. Each critic parses bibliographical and literary sources to form particular readings of Muir and his writing.

In *My First Summer in the Sierra,* a text that Muir wrote in 1869 and published in 1911 (Wyatt 1988, 41), Muir conjures domestic metaphors only to then lead the reader into the sterile realm of geologic explanation. In the same text, Muir laments on the failure of the written word to convey the experience of nature, almost shaming the reader to go into the woods to experience it for themselves, only to later speak despondently about the unthinking tourists who crowd his once isolated Yosemite. In this way, Muir's writing points out both the potential inadequacies and excesses that are inherent in writing that seeks to describe touristic experiences of nature. Wyatt is correct when he says that Muir has:

> a language aimed at something beyond the interrogation of its own procedures; it is aimed at changing the world. It magnificently passes this political test. Emerson and his heirs build their own worlds at the price of powerlessness in any immediate historical arena; Muir sacrifices an answerable style in order to locate a place in the popular mind. (Wyatt 1988, 45-46)

While the relationship between narrative and experience is central to Muir's writing, he never comments directly on his own narrative tactics. Muir's own denial of "self-conscious epistemological navel gazing" (Wyatt 1988, 33) liberates his narrative to grope towards a production of place that liberally and perhaps clumsily appropriates American transcendentalism, scientific naturalism, English Romanticism and the episodic pacing of the nineteenth century novel. Wyatt notes that Muir's "books about landscape are also profoundly self-encoding" (Wyatt 1988, 32). Through Muir's denial of *the subject* as *his* subject he inadvertently provides a narrative guide to the formation of a particular type of subject in a particular type of place.

The pretext with which Muir ventures into the Sierras exists in an uncomfortable crux between labour and leisure. In the beginning of the text Muir is enlisted by a sheep owner to accompany a shepherd as he grazes the sheep to the high alpine fields of the Sierra Nevada. Muir admits both pecuniary and exploratory motivations for accepting the offer. On the first page of the text, "Money was scarce" (Muir 1911, 3). Then, Muir is concerned with his "bread problem" (Muir 1911, 4). Here Muir justifies his journey by pointing out the manacles of the capitalist matrix in which he operates. From this position, he momentarily indulges in a radical fantasy of autonomy, speculating that he could perhaps live "like the wild animals" in "joyful independence" (Muir 1911, 4). Underscoring the delusory nature of his pondering, Muir is 'saved' from his own fantasy by the sheep-owner's offer of work. Muir is tempted to

accept the offer as a trip into the Sierras will provide "good center for observation...to learn something of the plants, animals and rocks" (Muir 1911, 5). Muir remains skeptical that he possesses the requisite skills to be a competent shepherd. Mr Delaney, the sheep-owner, assures him that he will be "free to follow his studies" and that his main duty would be to "see that the Shepherd did his duty" (Muir 1911, 5). Observation of the landscape and surveillance of the Shepherd are bundled into a unified operation of a dominant gaze. Muir becomes overseer of both the mountains and the Shepherd. In this way Muir distances himself from the identity of a tourist.

Muir does not perform a radical self-conscious separation from the bread and circus of the cultivated valleys, but rather facilitates his entry into the woods by becoming an agent of the very system he pretends to eschew. In *My first Summer in the Sierra,* Muir is at pains to foreground the landscape and devalue his own subjective position.

For David Wyatt, Muir's writing is exceptional amongst American accounts of landscapes in its insistence on "observing it (landscape) for its own sake" (Wyatt 1988, 33). For Wyatt, the fact that Muir is "scarcely aware of himself as observer" liberates him from "epistemological cruxes" and "leaves him free to indulge in a response to landscape largely unavailable to the more self-conscious 'tradition'" (Wyatt 1988, 34). As Wyatt correctly points out, in the American tradition of writing about landscape, "landscape tends to (either) disappear" (Wyatt 1988, 33) or act in the service of some kind of project of self awareness. This relationship to nature finds clear expression in Emerson's seminal work *Nature* (1849): "The tradesman, the attorney come out of the din and craft of the street and sees the sky and woods, and is a man again. In their eternal calm, he finds himself" (Emerson 1993, 7). For Emerson "every natural fact is a

symbol of some spiritual fact. Every appearance in nature corresponds to some state of mind" (Emerson 1993, 11). In Emerson's *Nature*, the natural world serves as a kind of codex with which to understand human experience. Emerson's insistence on the correspondence between natural, moral, and linguistic forms, so that "laws of moral nature answer to those of matter face to face in a glass" (Emerson 1993, 13), stands at the service of his larger totalising project. Emerson's ordered system of correspondences all link up to each other, transcending the confines of their individual forms and reflecting "the universal soul he calls Reason" (Emerson 1993, 11). In total contrast to Emerson, "Muir's quest is to know the mountains, not himself" (Wyatt 1988, 35). His belief in "the apparatus of perception" (Wyatt 1988, 33) is so complete it allows him to somewhat paradoxically "penetrate the world with his body" (Wyatt 1988, 34.)

> No pain here no dull empty hours, no fear of past, no fear of the future. These blessed mountains are so compactly filled with God's beauty, no petty personal hope or experience has room to be. Drinking this champagne water is pure pleasure, so is breathing the living air, and every movement of limbs is pleasure, while the whole body seems to feel beauty when exposed to it as if it feels the campfire or sunshine entering not by the eyes alone but equally through all one's flesh like radiant heat, making a passionate ecstatic pleasure-glow not explainable. One's body then seems homogeneous throughout, sound as a crystal. (Muir 1911, 175)

Muir describes an experience at once haptic, visual, visceral, and disembodied. His descriptions of sensations overflow their medium as he gropes for a language suitable to his experience. In the beginning of the passage, the body recedes and the individual self with all his "petty personal hopes", his fear "of past" and "future", is crowded out by "God's beauty". After doing away with "petty" experience, he describes a series of personal sensations that are elevated by his environment. Drinking the mountain water and breathing the mountain air are standard complementary sensations to viewing a beautiful mountain valley, yet here they become sublime. Having done away with his

personal hopes, and fears, even his relation to time, his experience becomes one of pure physical sensation wherein every movement is "pleasure". This is not the pleasure of visceral sensation, such as the sunshine or the campfire, but rather the haptic pleasure of a visual scene. The view from the North Dome of Yosemite enters Muir "not by his eyes alone" but penetrates his flesh, flattening out the vagaries of experience and imposing a kind of Emersonian unity upon the body. Where Emerson saw the natural world as correspondent to the mind of man and soul of God, Muir's body is less metaphor and more metonym of the scene he is trying to describe. His body is not a corresponding symbolic representation of what he perceives, but is rather assimilated into it, in an almost horrifying harmony. Muir's language is saturated with the violence that attends not being fully seen. Muir's harmony comes at a cost of individual difference:

> The magnitudes of the rocks and trees and streams are so delicately harmonized they are mostly hidden...Waterfalls, five hundred to one or two thousand feet high, are so subordinated to the mighty cliffs over which they pour that they seem like wisps of smoke...The mountains, too, along the eastern sky, and the domes in front of them, and the succession of smooth rounded waves between, swelling higher, higher, with dark woods in their hollows, serene in massive exuberant bulk and beauty, tend yet more to hide the grandeur of the Yosemite temple and make it appear as a subdued subordinate feature of the vast harmonious landscape. Thus every attempt to appreciate any one feature is beaten down by the overwhelming influence of all the others. (Muir 1911, 175-176)

Some features are so well harmonised they become "mostly hidden". This is a fairly benign effect. But his language escalates until even that mountains appear as a "subdued subordinate" feature of the landscape. Muir's harmony finally "beats down" any individual feature in the landscape.

Throughout *My Summer in the Sierra,* the power of harmony to obliterate individual difference finds expression not only in Muir's descriptions of the landscape but in the interpenetration of various descriptive registers. In *My Summer in the Sierra*

Muir most clearly circles around a set of descriptive frames. While they can be fashioned into an exquisite corpse of narrative description, they also can be identified as the domestic, the geologic/scientific, the sociological, and Muir's own brand of haptic transcendentalism. This feature of Muir's writing goes far to explain how his various critics can use his writing as a looking glass through which to reflect their individual critical agendas.

In one particularly revealing passage Muir writes about his traveling companion, Billy the Shepherd. Muir describes the Shepherd as "degraded by the life he lives" (Muir 1911, 30). Given that Muir has been enabled to enter the Mountains through his nominal appointment as overseer, his whole experience and his subsequent narrative owes its material existence to the labour of the Shepherd. Muir first disregards the Shepherd as "semi-insane" and then more damningly notes "that of all of Nature's Voices Baa is about all he hears" (Muir 1911, 32). Unsound of mind and deaf to the world, the Shepherd is the opposite of the sensitive perceiving subject. It is easy to sympathise with the eco-critical theorist Barry Nelson when he writes that Muir's position privileged leisure over labour and thus facilitated the enclosure of Yosemite into a national park (Nelson 2001, 309). Muir lacks the critical self-reflexivity to even begin to see the asymmetrical power relations that exist between him and the Shepherd. He does however play inadvertent witness to the Shepherd's central position within the Yosemite landscape. Quite apart from consideration of social conditions, Billy the Shepherd, or rather his trousers, becomes the site for one of Muir's more remarkable feats of descriptive incorporation:

> Our shepherd is a queer character and hard to place in this wilderness...His trousers, in particular, have become so adhesive with the mixed fat and resin that pine needles, thin flakes and fibers of bark, hair, mica scales and minute grains of quartz,

> hornblende, etc., feathers, seed wings, moth and butterfly wings, legs and antenna of innumerable insects, or even whole insects such as the small beetles, moths and mosquitoes, with flower petals, pollen dust and indeed bits of all plants, animals, and minerals of the region adhere to them and are safely imbedded, so that though far from being a naturalist he collects fragmentary specimens of everything and becomes richer than he knows. His specimens are kept passably fresh, too, by the purity of the air and the resiny bituminous beds into which they are pressed. Man is a microcosm, at least our shepherd is, or rather his trousers. These precious overalls are never taken off, and nobody knows how old they are, though one may guess by their thickness and concentric structure. Instead of wearing thin they wear thick, and in their stratification have no small geological significance. (Muir 1911, 172-173)

The Shepherd's trousers are layered with significance. The lived experience of their owner has become inscribed onto their surface. With their layers of pollen, plant fibres and other materials, they would seem to affirm the Shepherd's integration into the territory over which he labours. And yet Muir finds the Shepherd "hard to place". Muir strips the Shepherd of his trousers, removing them from cultural circulation, and reanimates them as an object both of and within the landscape. The trousers become yet another entry point for Muir's apparatus of perception. Muir's tendency towards descriptive harmony sacrifices not only the subjectivity of the Shepherd but also many of Muir's own personal preoccupations. The Shepherd is lost to the trousers. The trousers are lost to so many bits of plants and animals, that these, in turn, become specimens and finally geological strata. Descriptive accuracy is had at the cost of narrative precision. Muir's reference to "man as a microcosm" would seem a serious nod to his transcendental proclivities and yet his quippy qualification that it was not the Shepherd but "rather his trousers" makes manifest the shallow literary gimmicks to which he will sacrifice his own philosophical position. In the end of the passage, Muir further layers the trousers with two additional analogies. First he draws an analogy to the study of tree rings by claiming to guess the age of trousers by "their thickness and

concentric structure". He ends his passage noting that the "stratification" has "no small geological significance". Although *My Summer in the Sierra* contains a serious and correct hypothesis on the creation of Yosemite through glaciation (290), Muir is happy to sacrifice his scientific knowledge to the cause of elabourating his vision of the 'natural world' as showing "infinite variety in general unity and harmony" (Muir 1911, 350). In encoding the landscape within the Shepherd's trousers, Muir's descriptive poetics are highly successful in articulating Muir's experience of perception. Meanwhile his myopic denial of the Shepherd pushes the contorted moraine of social, political and material circumstance firmly out of view.

Muir's descriptions of Yosemite were successful in helping to promote Yosemite as a prime tourist destination. Yet, in his writing, he remained disparaging about the presence of tourists. He marvels that they could be so, "wholly unconscious of anything going on about them, while the sublime rocks were trembling with the tone of the mighty chanting congregation of waters gathered from all the mountains round about, making music that might draw angels out of heaven" (Muir 1911, 255). In other sections of the text Muir almost invites the visitor to Yosemite: "Nature's Landscape Garden at once tenderly beautiful and sublime. No wonder it draws nature-loves from all over the world" (Muir 1911, 280). Despite his ambivalence to tourist, Muir and the tourist are bound in a mutual embrace.

In part, the tourist has clung to Muir. He was neither the first nor the only person to write about Yosemite. In *Americans and the California Dream* (1973) Kevin Starr notes that "so standard became descriptions of the Valley in tourist literature that one writer excused himself from writing anything of his visit on the grounds that he could not possibly say anything new" (182). Furthermore, Muir's writing had a strong appeal

beyond other Yosemite narratives. Roderick Frazier Nash's chapter on Muir in his book *Wilderness and the American Mind* (2001), is tellingly titled "John Muir: Publicizer" (122). He begins his chapter by claiming Muir merely "echoed the thoughts of earlier deists and Romantics" and that his popularity was due to his "intensity and enthusiasm" (122). Nash finally sums up his treatment of Muir by noting that his popularity in 1893 was far greater than that of Thoreau forty years earlier. While Thoreau had to find storage for unsold copies of his first book *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), Muir could hardly stock enough copies of *The Mountains in California* (1884) (Nash, 2001, 160). Nash again claims that Muir's writing simply rehashed the ideas of earlier transcendentalists. For Nash it was, "the context rather than the content of their respective philosophies that determined their popularity...it was Muir's good fortune to live at a time when he could reap the honours that belatedly came to Thoreau's ideas." (Nash 2001, 160).

Nash is correct in highlighting the particular historical moment in which Muir wrote. Muir's narrative coincides with the rapid development of the American West. Many historians, including T. Jackson Lears, John Baur and Laurence Culver, have noted that the last third of the nineteenth century was a period where Americans perceived themselves as ill-equipped to negotiate rapid material and cultural changes within their society. There was a general revaluation of personal experience. While the idea of the individual had already been elevated and promoted as part of an emerging neo-liberal capitalist system, the idea that the lived experience could be managed through a prescriptive regime of labour and leisure put particular emphasis on emerging strategies for the modulating of one's personal experience. Tourism became the prime social construction in which this process was manifested. Nash misses the point when

he contrasts the "respective philosophies" of Thoreau and Muir. While Muir did indeed establish a system of belief that may begin to approach a fuzzy sort of philosophy, his popularity was more due to his willingness to deploy whole systems of knowledge, from the philosophical to the literary and the scientific, towards the articulation of a particular type of lived experience. It is this deliberate integration of the myriad spheres of life and culture that will later be built upon - quite literally - in the residential development of Pasadena. Muir both embodied and narrated the fantasy that feats of perception could create an authentic incorporation of the individual into the landscape. Towards the end of *My Summer in the Sierra*, Muir makes this point explicit:

> Never before noticed so fine a union of rock and cloud in form and color and substance, drawing earth and sky together as one; and so human is it, every feature and tint of color goes to one's heart, and we shout, exulting in wild enthusiasm, as if all the divine show were our own. More and More, in a place like this, we feel ourselves part of wild Nature, kin to everything. (Muir 1911, 326)

Indeed, anyone suffering from any kind of alienation, be it social, cultural or political, would find a universal salve in being "kin to everything". This passage demonstrates that it was not a particular philosophy for which tourists clung to Muir, but rather his operations of perception, of noticing what one had "never before noticed", that provides his enduring appeal.

While tourists found in Muir's text a codex for approaching their own experiences of wilderness, Muir also bound himself to the tourist. While Kevin Starr rhapsodises that Muir was "an avatar and prophet of all that the Sierras promised," he also notes that Muir was "a successful fruit rancher near Martinez" (Starr 1973, 186, 191). During this time he became well known for the quality of his Bartlett pears and Tokay grapes (Wyatt 1988, 42). As Wyatt also notes, Muir's embrace of wilderness was

always predicated on a separation between labour and leisure (Wyatt 1988, 42). Although Muir's journey in *My First Summer in the Sierra* was facilitated by the flimsy veneer of labour in the role of overseer, his orientation to the wilderness is most similar to that of the tourist. Unlike the traveller or the explorer for whom movement through place becomes a vocation, Muir's wilderness was a site of "salvation in surrender" (Wyatt 1988, 42). The religious rhetoric is apt. John Sears in *Sacred Places* (1989) demonstrates that in its claims to remove the individual from their 'everyday experience', nineteenth- century American tourism was a secular analog to religious experience. Muir was a talented mountaineer, a competent naturalist, an amateur geologist and a prolific essayist; yet his relationship to Yosemite as a site for leisure and rejuvenation remained tied to that of the tourist. His comparability to common tourists speaks to the complete colonisation of the tourist's subjectivity over the Yosemite landscape.

A fundamental characteristic that Muir shares with tourists is the complex interface between fulfilment and disappointment. As noted earlier, Hutchings's guide played upon the expectations of the tourist in such a way that the fulfilment of expectation has a double action; it was both justification for the current journey and evidence that if given just a little more time and effort, an even greater, more satisfying experience sits just beyond the horizon. *My Summer in the Sierra* consists mostly of a rousing panegyric to Yosemite, dotted with moments of critical discontent. In between soaring descriptions of the landscape, Muir speaks disparagingly of the sheep, calling them "hoofed locusts" (113), as well as "the glaring tailored tourists" and the "semi-insane" (31) Shepherd. While he pities those "bound by clocks, almanacs, orders,

duties, etc, and compelled to dwell with lowland care and dust and din" (Muir 1911, 250), this is most likely self-pity:

> Every rock, mountain, stream, plant, lake, lawn, forest, garden, bird, beast, insect seems to call and invite us to come and learn something of its history and relationship. But shall the poor ignorant scholar be allowed to try the lessons they offer? It seems too great and good to be true. Soon I'll be going to the lowlands. (Muir 1911, 322)

The interface between satisfaction and disappointment in Muir's life and writing takes on not only theoretical but material manifestations. These can be illustrated through two biographical anecdotes.

In 1876 Muir wrote an article for the Sacramento Record-Union titled "God's First temples: How we shall Preserve our Forests?" (Nash 2001, 130). This was to mark the beginning of Muir's crusade to designate Yosemite as a National Park. In 1889, he wrote a series of articles for the national literary magazine *Century* outlining his plan to designate Yosemite as a national park (Nash 2001, 133). In 1890, with the aid of the *Century's* editor Robert Underwood Johnson and "assistance from the powerful Southern Pacific railway" (Nash 2001, 132) the Yosemite National Park bill easily passed both houses of Congress (Nash 2001, 132). The fight to save Yosemite was instrumental in the establishment of the Sierra Club. This organisation, founded in 1892 primarily by university professors from The University of California Berkeley and Stanford (Nash 2001, 132) sought to "enlist the support of the people and government in preserving the forests and other features of the Sierra Nevada Mountains" (Sierra Club Articles of Associates cited in Nash 2001, 133). Muir was nominated and remained the president of the Sierra Club for the next twenty-two years (Nash 2001, 133). It was

during his tenure as president of the Sierra Club that Muir was to engage in a vicious political battle to save another of the Sierra's glacial valleys.

Hetch Hetchy was a Yosemite in miniature. "In 1890...the act creating Yosemite National Park designated Hetch Hetchy and its environs as a wilderness preserve" (Nash 2001, 161). Despite its protection, the city of San Francisco had long had its eye on Hetch Hetchy as a site for a reservoir. What followed was a dirty and confused twenty year battle for the ultimate fate of Hetch Hetchy. This struggle was to bring Muir and his fellow preservationists to national attention. In the end, Muir and the Sierra Club lost the battle for Hetch Hetchy and by 1913 Woodrow Wilson signed a bill granting San Francisco the use of Hetch Hetchy as reservoir (Nash 2001, 179).

The 'saving' of Yosemite and the loss of Hetch Hetchy can both be understood as resulting from the rapid development of California in the 1890s. The great loss of Hetch Hetchy and saving of Yosemite remain the material legacy of Muir's preservationist ethos. In delimiting Yosemite as a site of leisure over labour, Muir unconsciously maintained their mutually dependent status. Hetch Hetchy was the material expression of lowland labour and development. The Shepherd's diminished agency in *My First Summer in the Sierra* echoes Muir's inability to see Yosemite as holistically integrated into the larger California landscape. Muir's desire to see in Yosemite a pure expression of untouched and harmonious nature precluded a more expansive vision of the whole area.

This pattern of fulfilment and disappointment which defined Muir's relationship to landscape takes on a more philosophical dimension in an anecdote about Emerson's visit to Yosemite. According to *The Life and Letters of John Muir* (1924) a biography by William Frederic Badè, Emerson visited Yosemite in May of 1871. Muir was eager to

show Emerson the valley. He implored the ageing Emerson to spend a night with him camping out under the stars. According to Badè, Emerson agreed, but when Muir came to collect him from the camp, one of Emerson's party informed him that "No; it would never do to lie out in the night air. Mr. Emerson might take cold; and you know, Mr. Muir, that would be a dreadful thing" (Muir cited in Badè 1924, Chapter 8). Muir, overcome with disappointment, declares this a "sad commentary on culture and glorious transcendentalism" (Muir cited in Badè 1924, Chapter 8). Muir's escape into the wilderness is at once affirmed and denied by one of his intellectual heroes. In a letter written that same year Emerson counsels Muir, "there are drawbacks also to solitude, who is a sublime mistress, but an intolerable wife" (Emerson cited in Badè 1924, Chapter 8). Again, Muir's idea of the valley is both fulfilled and denied. In using a metaphor contrasting short-lived pleasure with long term commitment, Emerson reinforces the idea that Yosemite is only sublime when experienced temporarily i.e. as a tourist. This trajectory of expectation, fulfilment and disappointment finds its contours in both Muir's life and writing. This is hardly surprising given that his narrative often sought to articulate his lived experience of the landscape. Muir is perpetually undone by his own procedures.

Civilisation and Wilderness in Thérèse Yelverton's Narrated Yosemite

Thérèse Yelverton's novel *Zanita - A Tale of the Yo-Semite* (1870) offers a potent yet seemingly opposing tourist fantasy. Yelverton, herself a very early tourist to Yosemite, subsumes not only Yosemite but Muir and Hutchings into her own sentimental fiction. While all three authors work towards total symbolic possession of Yosemite, Yelverton attempts to literally bring Yosemite home. So complete is this

trajectory that the plot of her novel is centred around the adoption and domestication of Zanita, the fictional daughter of Hutchings and spiritual totem of the wild valley.

Zanita is a novelisation of the author's lived experience. Each character in the novel has a real counterpart, and indeed the novel's author, a Mrs Sylvia Brown, is based heavily on Thérèse Yelverton herself. Thérèse's - or Therese's - own biography has been heavily mediated by numerous fictional accounts. Simply tracing the accents on her name reveals the peculiar way her biography and her fictions have become almost inseparable. The following account of her biography has been taken largely from Margaret Sanborn's introduction to the only contemporary edition of her novel. Sanborn herself relied heavily on the travel writer Charles Warren Stoddard's 1902 memoir, *In the Footprints of the Padres.*

Thérèse Yelverton was born Marie Theresa Longworth. In 1852, after schooling at a convent in France, she was on her way to England. Aboard the steamer, she met Captain William Charles Yelverton, heir of the Irish viscount Barry John Yelverton. They were married in two secret marriage ceremonies; one Scottish and Protestant and the other Irish and Catholic. After these nuptials, Thérèse became, at least in her own eyes, Thérèse Yelverton Viscountess of Avonmore. However Charles made Thérèse promise that she keep the marriage secret. After a brief tour of Europe, he left her alone and pregnant in France while he returned to military duty. When she implored that they make their marriage public, so that they could register the birth of their child, he adamantly refused. Although the child died, a stillbirth, this marked the end of their affair and the beginning of acrimonious relations that would continue for the rest of their lives.

During their period of separation, Charles Yelverton had publicly married Emily Marianne Forbes, the wealthy daughter of Sir Charles and Lady Ashworth. When Thérèse discovered the marriage,

> she sued him for Alimony....then hoping to to discourage her from further action through attrition, he instituted a series of vexatious appeals denying the legality of both marriages, which dragged her from court to court-from England to Scotland to Ireland, and back to England, submitting her to seventeen protracted trials....little did he know he would spend the next ten years in litigation...a beautiful young woman wronged and maligned by a blackguard was an ever-popular theme, and periodical readers the world over eagerly followed the developments in what was known as 'The Great Yelverton Marriage Case'. (Sanborn cited in Yelverton 1991, xi-xv)

The case finally ended up in the House of Lords. Although they ultimately found against Thérèse, she had become a darling of the penny press. The 'Yelverton Affair' became the inspiration for a number of novels including Wilkie Collins' *Man and Wife (*1870). After 1862, Thérèse Yelverton would lead a nomadic life, traveling through Europe and America, supporting herself through the publication of her novels and travel narratives. Sanborn notes that while in private she reverted to calling herself Therese, Thérèse became her public persona (Sanborn in Yelverton 1991, vii). Accents that arrived through marriage were kept alive for the production of her fiction.

Yelverton remained persecuted by her husband throughout her travels. Stoddard recalls in his memoir that Yelverton wrote to him in great distress, "We have taken, I fear, the last of our pleasant rural strolls... I do not as yet know where I shall go; I feel in a rather desolate and forlorn condition--a though there was no place for me in this great world..." (Stoddard 1902, 252). While T. Jackson Lears has noted in his book *No Place of Grace* (1981) that the end of the nineteenth century was marked by a "weakening sense of selfhood" as the "softening of a supernatural framework of meaning" left the individual "increasingly adrift in a boundless, weightless universe without

order...” (Lears 1981, 222), Yelverton’s sense of loss and rootlessness has decidedly more concrete origins.

Yelverton’s departure into Yosemite was not influenced by some vague cultural sway towards rejuvenation, but was born out of a very real need for escape. In Yosemite, Yelverton sought solitude but found community. Stoddard recalls that “she became a member of the little household of the Valley's guardian” (Stoddard 1902, 258). During her time in Yosemite, Yelverton became a regular part of the Hutchings household, growing close to his eldest daughter, Florence (Sanborn in Yelverton 1991, xxii). In *Zanita - A Tale of the Yo-Semite*, the community she describes in the valley seems very close to her lived experience staying with the Hutchings. Where Yelverton’s novel diverges most from her own Yosemite trip is on the return home. The narrator adopts Zanita, a fictional Florence, and with the help of her loving and committed husband, attempts to civilize Zanita in their Oakland home.

Zanita - A Tale of the Yo-Semite is an episodic, plot-driven novel. The novel opens with the narrator telling us that she and her husband, “a professor of Geology in a College of California” (Yelverton 1991, 3) had plans to head out of the city and into the wilderness. Although describing herself as practical, she attributes her enthusiasm for the wilderness as “a latent stratum of romance in my composition which would bubble up amid my daily cares and wrestle for a recognition and enfranchisement of its own” (Yelverton 1991, 4). Throughout the novel, forces of romance and wildness struggle against the strict operations of civilised society. As the setting for the novel shifts between the Yosemite Valley and the narrator’s Oakland home, each location becomes a site for the struggles between the rational, practical, and civilised, and the irrational, uncivilised, and wild.

Upon entering the Valley, the narrator meets “Kenmuir”. Although from afar she first thinks him insane, she is later reassured by his “bright intelligent face”, “open blue eyes” and “glorious auburn hair” (Yelverton 1991, 6). This hunk of the mountains would seem the very picture of an Anglo-American ideal. In fact, Kenmuir’s face reminds the narrator of “a souvenir. I looked on the face of Kenmuir...and it reminded me of the face of Christ I had seen years ago in some little Italian village” (Yelverton 1991, 7). This bit of hyperbole demonstrates the degree to which Yelverton and her narrator take symbolic possession of Yosemite and its inhabitants. They are then reanimated on a landscape of her own experience.

As she and Kenmuir approach the house of the fictional Hutchings, the Nauntons, the narrator again ruminates over the shifting balance between civilisation and wilderness, “Here was I ...alone in the wildest part of the wild world, with a stranger - wandering on an untrodden path to a habitation of which I knew next to nothing. It was certainly as extraordinary and romantic a situation as any lover of fiction could have framed” (Yelverton 1991, 13). And yet, when she arrives at the home of the Nauntons, it is, to her delight, much like Kenmuir’s countenance; familiar, civilised and European. The Nauntons’ house is “an Italian cottage, a beautiful *bijou* cottage...borne through the air from Italy or Switzerland” (Yelverton 1991, 14). Here the narrator meets Mr. Naunton, his wife and their two children. With the exception of his eldest daughter, Zanita, whose eyes beamed “a mischievous elfish light” (Yelverton 1991, 14), the family is the picture of upper middle class domestic bliss. Mr. Naunton is described as kind and generous. His house is well appointed with rustic but tasteful furniture. His wife and Kenmuir discuss botany. By the end of the evening, the narrator looks “upon this artistic group” and “could not help believing that this family, shut in from the outer

world, yet with all the refinements of civilization, was surely one of the natural wonders of the Valley" (Yelverton 1991, 19). In the heart of the wild valley, Yelverton locates what can be described as a kind of model late Victorian family. In their dual position as both removed from and part of civilisation, they represent an idealised resolution to the late Victorian conflict between "autonomy and dependence" (Lears 1994, 221).

While Yelverton locates an idealised civilised family firmly outside of the contaminating grip of civilisation, she also finds access to inner experience through an experience of the outside. For her narrator, it is only when one escapes from the city "to some peaceful arcadia" that one is able to "commune with this mystic indweller of interior life" (Yelverton 1991, 22). In contrast to Muir who sought to enter fully into the landscape to lose himself, Yelverton and her narrator enter into the landscape to find themselves. Yelverton and her narrator enter the valley looking for escape. The retreat they discover is not in the wildness of Yosemite but in the domestic ideal of the Naunton home. By the end of her first stay in the valley the narrator tells us that she "unconsciously and without effort...had drifted into this family and become absorbed into their whole existence" (Yelverton 1991, 33). In searching for an escape in the outside, Yelverton and her narrator find only a return home.

In the first part of the novel, Yelverton describes an idealised domestic scene within Yosemite. In the second half of the novel, the death of Mrs. Naunton ruptures what she herself describes as "a fantastic fairytale of our own lives" (Yelverton 1991, 69). Upon her deathbed she pleads with the narrator to adopt Zanita as her own child. The narrator agrees and brings Zanita to live with her and her professor husband in Oakland.

The chapter titles for the latter section of the novel provide an outline for the inculcation of Zanita into life outside Yosemite. Her arrival in Oakland is titled “More than a handful” (Yelverton 1991, 74) followed by “Breaches in decorum” (90). The narrator’s friends “hint that she should be sent back into the wilds from whence she came” (Yelverton 1991, 77). Zanita refuses to be tamed. She remains inexorably tied to Yosemite. These chapters are then followed by “Zanita’s Schooling” (95) and “Zanita among the Nuns” (101). Zanita is made to submit to the various institutions of civilised authority. The narrator attempts to civilise first her mind and then her soul. The complete failure to domesticate Zanita is best described by her entrance into the sitting room while the narrator entertained some guests: “The door was flung open with a bang and Zanita presented herself backwards, leading by the hook of her parasol two of my prime Muscovy ducks yoked together by her rosary twisted around their handsome green throats” (Yelverton 1991, 112).

The parasol and the rosary, objects that mark attempts to imbue Zanita with both femininity and faith, are used to strangle the ducks. For the Narrator, there remains in Zanita an unchanged, intrinsic wildness. The episodes in Oakland are tinged with an inevitability of failure. Zanita remains a consistently uncivilised character, her wildness neither diminished nor augmented by her removal from Yosemite. While in Oakland, each chapter recalls an episode in the narrator’s failure to ‘tame’ Zanita. In the end, defeated, they return to Yosemite Valley. After a confused romantic episode, in which a mysterious Englishman becomes romantically entangled with Zanita’s younger sister, Zanita is found dead in “the depths of some bottomless gulf” (Yelverton 1991, 198). The death, according to our narrator, is “no death as we regard it; it is only a change as the oak-leaves change....The child of the mountain! How she sleeps in her cradle of

glory" (Yelverton 1991, 200). For Yelverton and her narrator, Zanita is the personification of that element of Yosemite which exists outside the symbolic order. Zanita is incapable of being 'tamed' because she represents those elements of Yosemite that remain stubbornly, intrinsically wild.

In *Zanita - A Tale of the Yo-Semite,* Yosemite Valley becomes a backdrop for Yelverton's descriptions of the domestic. The novel is marked by a central failure. The narrator never succeeds in her adoption and civilizing of Zanita. While this failure is presented as being due to Zanita's persistent wildness, it also highlights the deficiencies of the narrator's Oakland home. Although replete with all the necessary trappings of a proper household, there is no domestic idyll in Oakland; only lessons, institutions and the gossip of neighbours. The real standard of domestic bliss is offered by the Nauntons. In their position of civilised remove, they embody Yelverton's domestic ideal; both removed from and engaged with white middle class society. Yelverton's novel establishes a distinction between places and people who are either essentially wild, or essentially civilised. Neither, as the fate of Zanita suggests, can be changed. Yelverton depicts the valley as a place of steadfast wildness, and then ventures inside it to construct her own fantasy of domestic bliss, unthreatened by the rest of civilisation outside Yosemite. Again, this is the kind of ideal that will also be realised by Lummis and his contemporaries in The Arroyo Seco neighbourhood of Pasadena.

The Mediating Tourist

Hutchings, Muir, and Yelverton each frame Yosemite with their own desires and expectations of how a tourist should experience the wilderness. While Hutchings's guide attempts to orchestrate all aspects of the tour, the tourist constructs their lived

experience of Yosemite out of two opposing orientations: that of viewing, and that of experiencing. Tourists following Hutchings's guide move between these two orientations. In navigating their individual experience of the tour, the tourist moves between operations of assimilation and incorporation. Contrastingly, Muir offers the fantasy of entering the landscape and becoming subsumed by it. For Muir, human perception becomes the vehicle through which to enter into harmony with the outside. While Muir tries to lose himself to Yosemite, Yelverton's novel attempts to literally personify Yosemite and then incorporate it into a domestic household. In Yelverton's novel, the landscape is a backdrop to her social world. Yosemite, and the experience of remove that it would seem to offer, become activated in a domestic fantasy. In considering Hutchings, Muir, and Yelverton's differing perspectives on the tourist's experience of wilderness, it is clear that fictional narratives can act as points of entry and even means of navigation through Yosemite. Furthermore, these narratives offer the reader (and tourist) opportunities to experience the landscape while simultaneously subsuming it into the spectrum of their own experience.

Chapter Three

Deliberate Culture: Charles Lummis, Pasadena and *The Land of Sunshine*

This chapter is a case study in the emergence of lifestyle. So far we have looked at nineteenth and early twentieth century concepts of the self and self-help in order to understand the conceptual foundation on which lifestyle developed. We have also examined key examples of early tourism literature to see how these ideas of self identity and self improvement were explored and developed amidst the then newly branded setting of Yosemite. I will now look more closely at the emergence of deliberate culture at the turn of the century in California, to move towards an understanding of the emergence of lifestyle and how it came to be the phenomenon it is today. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, an early figure in the creation of what could be termed a *California Lifestyle* was Charles Fletcher Lummis (1859-1928). This chapter traces the role of Charles Lummis, his magazine *The Land of Sunshine* (1895-1900), the building of his own home El Alisal (Spanish for Place of the Sycamore), and finally his extensive photographic collection, in shaping and defining particular literary, economic and architectural vernaculars of late nineteenth century Los Angeles. I will now examine each of these in turn.

Charles Lummis: A Man of Parts

Charles Lummis was born in 1869 in Lynn, Massachusetts to a Methodist minister. While briefly attending Harvard he made a small name for himself as author of *The Birch Bark Poems* -- lines of mediocre verse, etched cleverly and deliberately onto

birch bark. While the poems were not of particular literary merit, Lummis's savvy appropriation of a rusticated pastoral aesthetic resonated within a particular East Coast literary zeitgeist. What is interesting here is his ability to identify and appropriate popular narratives and present these narratives within a cohesive and recognisable aesthetic frame. Lummis repeated this operation throughout his life, appropriating, exploiting, and ultimately altering popular and often exoticised aesthetic vernaculars.

Lummis arrived in Los Angeles on foot on 1st February 1885 (DeLyser 2005, 46). He was met by Harrison Gray Otis, editor of the *Los Angeles Times*. Lummis had, rather unbelievably, just finished a walk from his former home and failed marriage in Chillicothe, Ohio. The account of his journey had been a regular feature in the *Times*. In 1892 he would publish a revised telling of this walk as *A Tramp Across the Continent* (Culver 2010, 28). This walk across the continent was very much part of a growing trend among young educated middle class white men toward a romanticised peripatetic experience of the newly enclosed national landscape. This sort of trip can be read as a kind of early version of the coming-of-age road trip. Indeed about ten years earlier, John Muir endeavoured upon a similar journey from Wisconsin to San Francisco.

As Jane Apostol writes in *El Alisal: Where History Lingers* (1994), Charles Lummis had multiple roles in framing and creating narratives, branding, and lifestyle in Los Angeles. Not only was he a prolific photographer, ethnographer, archeologist and folklorist, he was also an enthusiastic city librarian and author of many books on the city. Not only that, Lummis was appointed as the first city editor at the *Los Angeles Times*, and he also became an influential editor of *The Land of Sunshine* and *Out West* (Apostol 1994, 15). Lummis's many books and photographs were mostly focused on the Southwest and its Spanish and Native American history and culture. His work in

folklore centred around the creation of wax recordings of traditional Mexican and Native American folk songs. He claimed to have traveled throughout the region, although some critics now point out that his reach was rather limited. In Los Angeles, in addition to his various literary roles, he was also the founder of two benevolent associations (one for the preservations of California's missions and the other an Anglo-American advocacy group for Native American rights) and one museum.

Throughout her book, Apostol glosses over the contradictions and complications of Lummis's long career as a promoter of the American Southwestern as an ideal site for a new upper middle class Anglo-American society. Other scholars on Lummis, such as Lawrence Culver in *The Frontier of Leisure* (2010), depict his life as a series of personal failings, sporadic public success, and mediocre cultural output marked by a profound cultural misunderstanding of the people and region he sought to portray. Culver is correctly critical of the ways that Lummis "intended to map 'a new cultural geography' (Padget 2004, 116) for the southwest and its residents, and to posit it not merely as scenic but instead as the *salvation* of Anglo America." (Culver 2010, 30). Dominika Ferens in *Native Americans, Chinese and White Progressives in Land of Sunshine 1896-1905* (2001) and Martin Padget in *Travel Exoticism and the writing of Region: Charles Fletcher Lummis and the "creation" of the Southwest* (1995) have noted that "for all of Lummis's profound interest in American Indians and Mexicanos, his imagined America was hierarchised along racial, class and gender lines that clearly privileged forms of anglo male authority." (Padget 1995, 448). Throughout his career, and highlighted in the critical reception of his enormous output of work, it is clear that Lummis's approach is caught between respect and appropriation. He showed a genuine

interest in Mexican, Spanish, and Native American Southwestern culture but this was always at the service of systematic appropriation and fictionalisation.

Of course Lummis's various acts of cultural appropriation were always highly fictionalised reinterpretations of southwestern Mexican, Spanish, and Native American culture. Kevin Starr perhaps best articulates the cultural bind that Lummis found himself in when he writes in *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (1985) that "Lummis's life and point of view were shot through with paradox. His Spanish myth was incipiently pastoral…yet as a promotional device, the Spanish myth fostered the opposite: mass society and industrialization" (Starr 1985, 85). Throughout his life Lummis was caught on the "horns of a dilemma of his own making" (Starr 1985, 92). However he continually promoted "southern California as 'the new eden of the Saxon home-seeker" (Lummis cited in Starr 1985, 89) as a much needed retreat from the Eastern cities with their "ignorant hopelessly un-American type of foreigner" (Lummis cited in Starr 1985, 89). He was an Easterner bent on promoting the superiority of the West, but despite this promotion he remained a self-identified Easterner. The extent to which he immersed himself in southwestern Mexican, Spanish and Native American culture was always defined by his freedom of choice: he chose which aspects of Spanish culture to try on, perform, and take off again. It becomes clear on reading Lummis's writings, and viewing his many photographs, that in many ways Lummis's career and cultural output can be best articulated through its failings. His writing is often racist, inconsistent, and eccentric to the point of being self-contradictory. Lummis's effort at preserving dying cultural forms seems desperately at odds with his boosterism of the very forces hastening its decline.

Charles Lummis was however much more successful in his development of a new, hybrid, and distinct California Lifestyle. A quick survey of some of the critics mentioned thus far will bear out this point. Lawrence Culver in *The Frontier of Leisure* remains deeply sceptical of Lummis's attempt "to teach white Americans to adopt the customs of the Californios or Pueblo Indians" but he writes that Lummis's "promotion of Southern California as the frontier of leisure" was "an immense success" (Culver 2010, 51). Indeed, Culver writes that Lummis's second book *The Land of Poco Tiempo* (1893) brought the Southwest fully into the American imagination and "helped popularize everything from regional tourism to 'Santa Fe style architecture and interior design'" (Culver 2010, 30). Kevin Starr goes further in *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* by claiming that "every city needs symbols and myths with which to establish its identity", and that Charles Lummis more than any other helped "justify the development of Los Angeles and the Southland in the name of Higher Things" (Starr 1985, 75). Martin Padget, whose essay sets out to demonstrate the "racist and class-biased assumptions that were always at work in Lummis's promotional activity" (Padget 1995, 448) also writes that, "Lummis endeavored to provide the key to a hybridized future where incoming whites could take the "best" of the culture that had preceded them while forging a strengthened mind and body through the vigorous year-round outdoor life that California's climate allowed them" (Padget 1994, 448).

This chapter argues that this tendency towards hybridisation and syncretic fusion of ideology, aesthetics, and individual self-betterment was Lummis's contribution to American popular culture. He is more exemplary than exceptional and for this reason he is often a footnote in the history of the region. But he modelled both the hybridised future of cultural and social forms, and the determined individualism of mind-body

betterment that was to become the template for living in Southern California. Most importantly for this dissertation, Lummis articulated and understood his own identity through material cultural forms and the practices of living with them. Lummis can still serve as an paradigmatic figure in the cultural history of lifestyle in the United States. This particular integrated material performance of identity is the progenitor of our contemporary lifestyle determined identities. During the course of his long career as an early booster of 1890's Los Angeles, Lummis would attempt to both embody and live as fully as possible with his own romantic manifestations of Spanish and Native American culture. Dydia DeLyser, author of *Ramona Memories* (2005), claims that Lummis was not "just a southern California Booster: Lummis lived what he boosted, becoming so personally involved in Southern California's Hispanic past that he attempted to become part of it" (DeLyser, 47). Lummis embodied his own vision of a Spanish past, and in doing so, lived out a symbolic performance of Southwestern archetypes:

> Styling himself 'Don Carlos' Lummis lived on Southwestern food- Chili, tamales, frijoles, olives- and wore a green corduroy suit cut in the Spanish style, set off by boots, a brightly colored cummerbund, a frilled shirt, a broad-brimmed hat and Navaho Jewelry. When he traveled he carried his shaving gear and clean linen in a buckskin saddle bags slung across his shoulder. He rolled his own cigarettes, lighting them with flint and a rag treated with gunpowder, as did the Spanish Vaqueros of old. (Starr 1985, 84)

While this attempt at living a nostalgic fantasy of one's own making denigrates the actual Spanish or Native American culture that was still dynamically present, it also speaks to the determined and deliberate attempt by Lummis to not only write and promote the Southwest, but also to embody and model his particular fantasy of the Southwest life as fully and holistically as possible. For Lummis, this performance of identity was the only proof of its existence and therefore it demanded perpetual

maintenance. Today this can be traced through his editorial influence at the regional promotional magazine, *The Land of Sunshine.*

Building a Brand in *The Land of Sunshine*

In *The Land of Sunshine*, the popular Southern California magazine that Lummis edited from 1885 until he resigned from the then renamed *Out-West* in 1909, he was provided his most public platform for his incorporation and integration of business, leisure, and culture. The development of this deliberate and holistic lifestyle was achieved through the savvy negotiation between narrative and experience. Charles Lummis promoted the belief that one could self-curate a complete life experience. In his magazine, his house, and his own life the narratives that usually frame experience become central to experience itself.

Lummis's many books, including *Some Strange Corners of Our Country* (1892), *The Land of Poco Tiempo* (1893), and *The Enchanted Burro* (1897), would portray the Spanish and Native Americans of the greater southwest with a typically late Victorian romantic flourish. In these novels, particularly *The Land of Poco Tiempo*, Lummis gives his clearest vision of Hispanic culture as what Lawrence Carver in *The Frontier of Leisure* (2010) describes as "a pre capitalist Eden…the ultimate succour for an ailing Yankee workaholic" (Culver 2010, 34). Once again Lummis is not at all alone or original in searching for an environment and way of living that offered a therapeutic, curative potential to the effete, overworked eastern urban dweller. As T. Jackson Lears writes in *No Place of Grace* about the many forms of anti-modernism that were cropping up in America at the end of the nineteenth century, "All these responses to cultural crisis promoted the same circular and self-defeating quest for personal

experience; all were rooted in personal disquiet but had unintended social results; they helped ease the transition to secular and corporate modes of modern culture- new forms of evasiveness for a new social world" (Lears, 58).

Although Lummis's own tendency was to assert a sincere and authentic appreciation of Native American and Hispanic culture, his own writing betrays the ways these cultural forms were used to create a cohesive, integrated fantasy about the California Southland. It was his time as the editor of the Los Angeles magazine, *The Land of Sunshine*(later renamed *Out-West*) that was to become both his largest platform and the clearest measure of Lummis's attempt to integrate the seemingly contradictory and disparate ways of living. On the one hand, Lummis's vision of Native American and old Californio culture was predicated on a romantic vision of collective, familial, out-of-doors living. It was a life that valued leisure, simplicity, and a patient relationship to the passing of time. In clear contrast to this idea of life was the sharp end of Anglo-American expansion: rapid, efficient entrepreneurial individualism. Lummis's ability to implicate the individual and his personal experiences within collectively proffered aesthetic gestures marks a shift in the interface between the individual and popular culture. Culture no longer stood outside the individual to be consumed or critiqued, but became a manifest product of the successful individual performance of particular prescribed narratives.

The Land of Sunshine was first published in 1894 by three local Los Angeles businessmen with ties to the fledgling Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce (Culver 2010, 84). The magazine was little more than promotional literature for the Southland of California. *The Land of Sunshine* proclaimed itself to be a publication for "tourists, health-seekers and settlers" (*The Land of Sunshine*, September 1895). The magazine

included a broad range of topics from Southwestern domestic design to profiles of burgeoning industry. In looking at the very first issue of *The Land Of Sunshine*, in June of 1894, one is able to clearly discern its prevailing themes and overriding preoccupations. The first article is titled 'Southern California Resorts' and it gives a highly programmatic description of California's premier tourist hotels and resorts. This is followed by articles on the view of California from a balloon, the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, horticulture vs. manufacturing, LA since the boom of the 1880s, and a profile on the market potential of the sugar beet. Land and its use-value were central to both this first issue of *The Land of Sunshine* and the general development of Southern California. Tourism and real estate provided the only point of entry into the social and cultural life of the California Southland. Leisure was serious business, business culture was valorised, and real estate opportunities remained the overt driver of development. The basis for many of Southern California's experiential givens, such as the unrelenting sunshine, vast tracts of empty desert, and apparent cultural vapidity, were repackaged, not as empirical givens, but rather elements of the place that represented the emancipatory and therapeutic potential of Southern California. This first issue of *Land of Sunshine* makes explicit certain themes that Lummis would later qualify and legitimise through the deliberate application of romantic narrative frames.

Charles Lummis took over editorial control of *The Land of Sunshine* in February of 1885. In tracing the arch of his editorial influence, one can follow the transition of *The Land of Sunshine* from promotional literature, written from the outside looking in, to a platform for an emergent regional white middle class culture. While land and its speculation remained the single major economic driver for development, Lummis reoriented the perspective of his magazine's readers from interloping tourists navigating

an alien landscape to the rightful inheritors of an ancient, distinct literary and aesthetically cohesive local culture.

The first article that Lummis wrote for *The Land of Sunshine* is titled 'The Spanish American Face'. In choosing this as his first article as editor, Lummis staked out the significance that Hispanic culture plays in framing his experience of Los Angeles. While Lummis would continue to include explicit articles about hotels and land opportunities, more and more of the magazine became dedicated to a more subtle form of regional boosterism. Through the championing of a distinct if totally fictional regional culture, Lummis did not sell the land but rather a style of living. This new style of living was predicated on a kind of extreme individuation born directly out of an unrelenting adherence to a recognised and accepted aesthetic. Lummis's article begins with an explanation of why he viewed Hispanic culture as an appropriate model for living in Southern California. In the opening paragraph he writes "The seal of Spain is upon all things she has ever touched. To the Thoughtful student, few side-lights in history are more striking than this vital individuality of the Spaniard." (*The Land of Sunshine*, Feb 1885). According to Lummis, the Spanish face held both the potential for variety through individual expression coupled with an undeniable obedience to type:

> The Spanish American Face is always Spanish, yet not of Spain. As much to the Artist as to the anthropologist it is a fascinating study- the differentiation of this unmistakable and attractive type by local conditions operating for centuries. That is what evolution means: and here is the very poetry of evolution, as true and instructive as the prose. It is lucid verse too. One may grow so proficient as to guess very shrewdly, from an unmarked photograph, from what section of Spanish America the sitter comes, particularly if it be a woman's face, which is more plastic to the hand of circumstance. Yet there is no sameness. A thousand localities have their local variants, each as a rule already a recognised type; each once face has its individuality as clear as with us; and through all, individual or local, runs the inevitable dominant of Spain. (*The Land of Sunshine*, Feb, 1885)

What Lummis here describes of the Spanish face can be extended to his vision for living in Southern California: idiosyncrasy born out of aesthetic obedience. Lummis also continued to fold the magazine's earlier focus on tourism and real estate into the more increasingly artistic and literary narratives. An 1895 article in *The Land of Sunshine* described the Boom of the 1880s thus:

> Musicians were in great demand and the streets of Los Angeles were resonant with music, such as it was, from morning till night., the bid drum playing a very prominent part. Those were halcyon days for the deadhead. He could get all he wanted of free literature, free rides, free music and free lunch. Special trains carried the sanguine crowd of investors to the site of the new-born city, where music cheered their hearts, refreshments warmed their diaphragms and the mellifluous voice of the auctioneer did the rest. (*The Land of Sunshine*, 1895)

By 1899, *The Land of Sunshine* had made an almost complete transition from promotional literature to literary magazine. A list of contributors on the cover page clearly marks out this shift. Lummis's staff list by now included such literary notables as David Starr Jordan, Joaquin Miller, Mary Hallock Foote, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman. In the later issues of *The Land of Sunshine,* by then re-named *Out-West*, literature and artistic production replaced explicit forms of regional boosterism with the more encoded rhetoric of an integrated and encompassing aesthetic.

Lummis and his publication helped develop Southern California as the ideal site to perform a particular lifestyle that was both in complicity with and critically responding to a burgeoning national popular culture. This flags a shift in the development of American popular culture. Charles Lummis's magazine *The Land of Sunshine* is an example of cultural production that sought to incorporate literary, entrepreneurial, and leisure narratives into a prescriptive regime of self-betterment.

Pasadena and The Arroyo Seco

In January of 1895 Lummis began his editorship of *The Land of Sunshine*. That same year he bought three acres of land just north of downtown Los Angeles in an area called The Arroyo Seco. The Arroyo Seco was named after the usually dry river that runs from the San Gabriel Mountains, through Pasadena and down through Los Angeles to the blue azure of the Pacific Ocean (Starr 1985, 84). The Arroyo Seco at the turn of the century can be best understood by its larger and more well known cousin, Pasadena. Three images help to illustrate the particular cultural niche that Pasadena occupied at the end of the nineteenth century, which we will now consider.

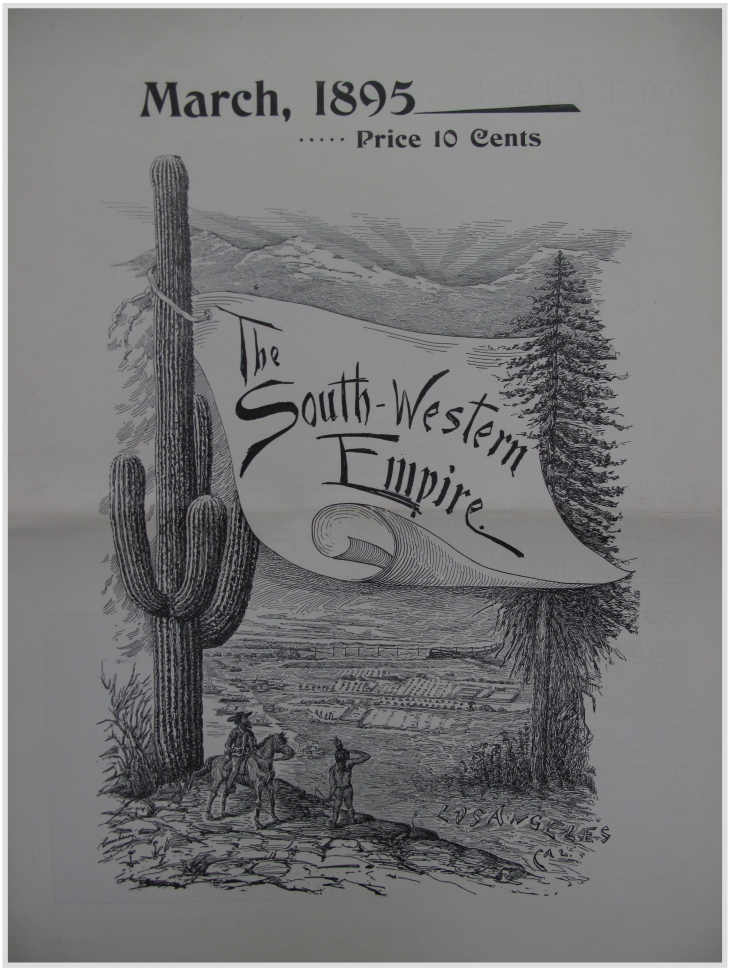


Figure 2
Author unknown. 1895. "The Southwestern Empire." Pamphlet promoting Los Angeles and the surrounding area. From site visit to The Huntington, California, Prints and Ephemera Collection on 30th August 2012.

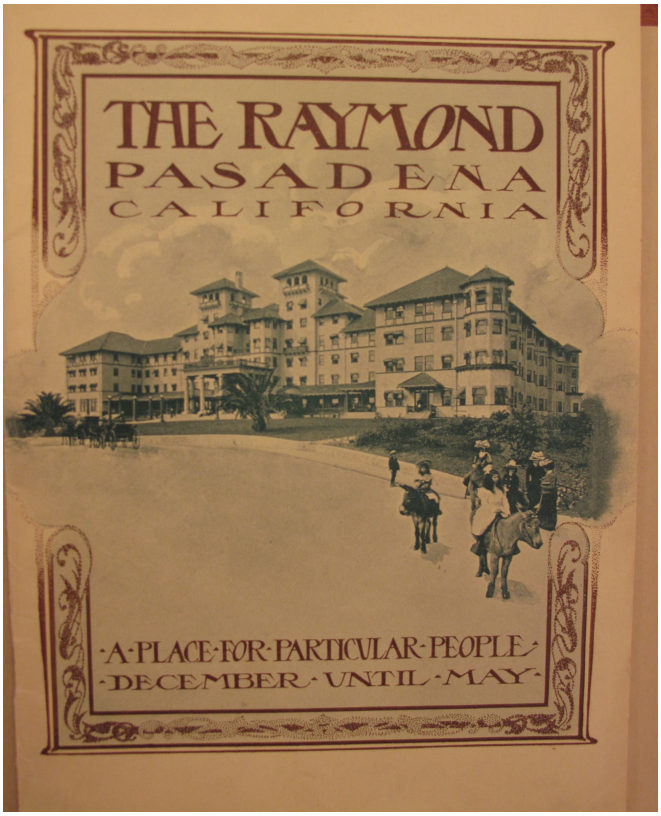


Figure 3
Author unknown. Circa 1901. "The Raymond : Pasadena California : A Place for Particular People : December Until May." Advertisement for the rebuilt Raymond Hotel of Pasadena, California. From site visit to The Huntington, California, Prints and Ephemera Collection on 30th August 2012.

Figure 4
E. A. Bonine. Circa 1895. "Lamanda Park, Los Angeles Co., Cal." Postcard of Pasadena, California with the original Raymond Hotel in the distance. From site visit to The Huntington, Prints and Ephemera Collection on 30th August 2012.

The first image [Figure 2], taken from a pamphlet written by George Wharton James, a literary and entrepreneurial contemporary of Lummis, depicts the particular fantasy of the 'South-Western Empire'. In the foreground, a Native American, dressed as a fantasy Indian of the white American imagination, shares a vantage with a white American in Western dress. The two characters look out into the distance. Framed between a cactus and pine, which respectively mark the limit of the region (desert to the west, mountains and forests to the east), the view opens up into a landscape of infrastructure. The sun and mountains, typically dominant features of Southern California, are relegated to the top of the image. Both the natural environment and the people who had previously occupied the region frame a domesticated landscape of orchards, fields, and elevated train tracks. This image captures a Southwestern mock-up of a much older trope. The middle landscape, the taming of nature and the seamless co-production of landscape and acceleration, occupy the centre of the image.

The third image [Figure 4] is from a postcard from 1895 and depicts a very similar landscape to that found in the first image. In 1882 Walter Raymond, co-owner of the successful east coast travel agency, Raymond and Witcomb Tours, traveled to what at the time was an agricultural cooperative owned by the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association. Raymond, impressed with what he saw, purchased land on a hill overlooking the fields and in 1886, opened the luxurious Hotel Raymond. In the 1880s and 90s the Raymond and Witcomb tour company organised private and exclusive tours from the East Coast to various destinations out West. Chief among the final destinations of these tours was The Raymond Hotel and the small town of Pasadena, as depicted in the second image. The Raymond Hotel dominates the middle landscape but is in turn dominated by the San Gabriel mountains above. In *Inventing the Dream*, Kevin Starr

describes Pasadena as “a garden enlivened by a lingering element of the original wilderness” (Starr 1985, 99-101). Pasadena began life as a health resort for wealthy white Easterners. These tourists, in turn, “returned to Pasadena as permanent residents”. Incorporated in 1886, “Pasadena grew into a charming town of ten thousand by the century’s turn (thirty thousand by 1907), with a church for every thousand residents, a neo-Moorish opera house seating fifteen hundred and a large number of distinguished homes facing broad, well-planted boulevards”. According to Starr’s account, Pasadena embodied many of the “joys of the domestic life in the Southland…Horticulture- gardens, lawns, rosebushes- was the special glory of Pasadena”. Charles Frederick Holder, a prominent Pasadena resident and early promoter of big-game fishing, is quoted as describing Pasadena as “The land of the afternoon: people live out of doors and have an inherent love of flowers” (Holder in Starr 1985, 100). As the resort became a town, Pasadena became a part of Southern California that combined and epitomised all of the characteristics that most appealed to aspirational tourists from the East Coast: a rustic aesthetic shaped by its wealthy middle class residents; nature cultivated into attractive European-style gardens and tree-lined streets. Pasadena became a site in which the wealthy cultured elite of the East Coast first arrived in California as tourists and then settled as residents.

Several prominent Pasadena residents helped shape the cultural life of early Los Angeles. Ezra and Jeanne Carr, who were central in the development of John Muir’s professional and personal life, balanced their academic and literary work with horticulture. They cultivated extensive and verdant gardens at Carmelita, their estate in Pasadena. Carmelita was later gifted to the city as a public park and helped establish Pasadena’s status as a place that was as much garden as it was city; indeed it became

known throughout Southern California for its flowerbeds, diverse trees, and abundant plant life. The aforementioned Charles Frederick Holder helped found The Valley Hunt Club. Each new year, this rather genteel club would put on a more public face and host The Tournament of Roses. What began in 1890 as a riding contest and a picnic became by 1907 "a floral parade in the morning, chariot races and other riding contests in the afternoon and a ball at the Hotel Green in the evening" (Starr 1985, 103). The blue-blooded roots of the festival highlight the way in which the residents of Pasadena took it upon themselves to fashion a new, aspirational style of living that the rest of Southern California would soon seek to replicate. It is notable that today, Los Angeles continues to be known as a place of trendsetters and early adopters, often in relation to commercialised leisure activities. The Tournament of Roses became a civic event and is today a full scale parade and major college football game. It is clear that Pasadena's early residents were highly successful in fashioning the town in their own image; a place of high culture, healthful nature, centred around living the good life.

The aspirations and aesthetics of Pasadena and its wealthy, white, East Coast-born inhabitants is perhaps best represented by the architecture of Charles and Henry Greene. Midwesterners by birth, trained briefly at MIT, and working in the American Craftsman style popularised by Gustav Stickley, Greene and Greene became most famous for their deluxe elabouration of the craftsman style. Randal Makinson in his book *Greene and Greene: Architecture as Fine Art* (1970) would call their buildings "The Ultimate Bungalows" (Makinson 1977, 150). Their most famous work is the Gamble House built in Pasadena in 1908. This "Ultimate Bungalow", built for David Gamble (heir to the Proctor and Gamble fortune) is described by Starr both as "a poem in light, texture and wood" (Starr 1985, 101) and as emblematic of an "aesthetic

functionalism" embraced by the Greene brothers. Inspired by the Arts and Crafts movement of William Morris, the Greene brothers built houses that combined the essential elements of rusticity and simplicity to create domestic spaces that sought to facilitate freedom of movement, and by extension, freedom of thought. However, for all the rustic, woody, crafty Japanese-inspired honesty that the Bungalows seemed to convey, they also are notable for their "the cunning concealment of the servant staircase and house service areas" (Brendan Gill cited in Starr 1985, 102). The Greene and Greene Gamble House was a masterpiece of the Pasadena style during a period that Starr describes as "a daydream occurring in the Edwardian Tiffany years before the First World War when money and fantasy, for the upper middle class at least, still sustained a direct rate of exchange." (Starr 1985, 101). Pasadena architecture of this period is a tangible measure of the lifestyle aspirations of its inhabitants.

The Pasadena style of living, marked by gentility, eastern sophistication, and gardening, reached a kind of excessive climax in the figure of Henry Edwards Huntington. Huntington was one of several well known figures in Pasadena, who was both defined by and promoted the perception of Pasadena as a place for high culture. The successful efforts of figures like Huntington reveal how Pasadena was a prototype, an ideal working model, for the rest of Los Angeles. Henry Huntington was the vice president of the Southern Pacific Railroad. This was a title he had inherited from his uncle, Collis Huntington, one of the 'big four' railroad magnates. In Los Angeles, far from his estranged wife and aunt through marriage, Henry Huntington established both the Pacific Electric Railroad Company as well as his extensive estate. This massive project included gardens, an art collection, and a library of rare books and manuscripts. The Pacific Electric ran a system of electric streetcars throughout much of early and

undeveloped Los Angeles. For the first ten years of the twentieth century, these electric trams were integral to the development of the horizontal plan of Los Angeles. Indeed Huntington developed his tram lines and real estate holding in tandem, ensuring his residential land projects were the first to benefit from the transportation links that the Pacific Electric brought to these disparate communities. With his great fortune, Huntington developed his San Marino estate (just south of Pasadena) into a place that idealised aesthetic and cultural aspirations. After his death, his home, art gallery, and garden have become The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens.

In direct contrast but close proximity to Huntington's orgy of vast wealth and high culture, were the residents of The Arroyo Seco. Along the western border of Pasadena, The Arroyo Seco is an aptly named geographic feature. Arroyos, a common geologic feature in the American Southwest, are arid drainages that are usually dry but can run with water during the rainy season. At the turn of the twentieth century, Pasadena's Arroyo Seco was a deep cut of woodlands that ran from the Sierra Madres to the Pacific ocean. The area was "thick with sycamores, oak, willow, alder, tangled thickets of wild grapes, clematis and other flowering plants" (Starr 1985, 99). To live in The Arroyo Seco was to live in a wild environment that was only somewhat tamed by the development of the neighbourhood. It is tempting to position The Arroyo Seco as a Californian wilderness in direct contrast to the genteel cultivation of Pasadena. In this comparison, The Arroyo Seco takes on a somewhat rustic Arcadian image, while Pasadena becomes a forward-propelled utopia. While this contrast between these two neighbourhoods is productive in understanding the early development of lifestyle in Los Angeles, both Pasadena and The Arroyo Seco are notable more for the ways that, taken

together, they defined and upheld conventions of living in Southern California rather than the usual bohemian modus of defying or resisting social and cultural hegemonies.

Both Pasadena and The Arroyo Seco are exemplary of an interrelated network of aesthetics, ideologies, practices, and aspirations that together loosely constitute a shared way of living. In more intimate contact with the seemingly wild parts of Southern California, the residents of The Arroyo Seco were broadly concerned with creating a lifestyle centred around local craftsmanship and embracing the resulting aesthetic of working with materials of the immediate environment. Where the residents in Pasadena took control of nature and kept it at arm's length, tamed in gardens, commemorated in the names of their boulevards, and celebrated through rituals of domination and mastery, such as The Tournament of Roses, the inhabitants of The Arroyo Seco, were, in the model of Charles Lummis, more concerned with "natural living" and the "therapeutic value" of "simple living, high thinking, pure democracy, genuine art, honest craftsmanship, natural inspiration and exalted aspiration" (George Wharton James in *The Arroyo Craftsman* 1909, cited in Starr 1985, 109). In addition to the two literary denizens of The Arroyo Seco, George Wharton James and Charles Lummis, other residents of The Arroyo Seco were bound loosely together by a shared interest in Native American crafts including but not limited to basket-making and blanket weaving. These included a collector of Native American artefacts, Horatio Nelson Rust; his friend, the photographer of the Southwest, Adam Clarke Vroman; the printer and owner of the neo-Franciscan style house Abby Encino; Clyde Brown and the founder of the Throop Polytechnical Institute, Amos G. Throop.

The Throop Polytechnical Institution offered classes in craftsmanship with a notable persuasion for the handmade. This included activities ranging from metalwork,

stonemasonry, and woodworking to leather crafts, pottery, and bookbinding (Starr 1985, 106). From 1891-1911 the Throop Polytechnical Institution flourished, but would eventually change into what is now the California Institute of Technology (including the Jet Propulsion Labouratory). The transition from a technical craft institute to a government-funded science and space centre focusing on the crafting of mechanical, electrical, and ballistic technologies, occurred in tandem both with the birth of the film industry in Los Angeles and larger trends of technology development throughout the state. David Starr Jordan, a friend of Charles Lummis, contributor to *The Land of Sunshine* and founder of Stanford University, also included handicrafts in the mandatory Stanford curriculum.

Men were not the only notable residents of The Arroyo Seco. Two female authors known for their depictions of the desert, Mary Austin, author of *The Land of Little Rain* (1903) and Ida Meacham Strobridge, author of *The Loom of the Desert* (1909) both lived in the Arroyo. Many of Lummis's large staff of female writers for *The Land of Sunshine* lived in or near the Arroyo. These included Sui Sin Far, Nora May French, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman uptown in Pasadena. Loosely bound by this "art of domestic living", and typified by rustic fabrics, wood carvings, stained glass decorations, and healthy doses of Spanish Revival architecture, the residential community of The Arroyo Seco was defined "not so much an organized movement as it was a shared lifestyle signifying a related variety of local values" (Starr 1985, 108-113). The residents were all white, middle class Americans who sought to perfect their "art of domestic living" both through certain shared aesthetics such as a penchant for Native American artefacts and Mission revival style architecture, but also through a neurotic attention paid to mental health, physical acumen, exercise, and diet.

The residents of The Arroyo Seco took many of their stylistic and cultural cues from William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement. Unlike the typical Pasadena resident, who lived in the previously described Greene and Greene super bungalow (complete with hidden staircases for the servants) in the high tradition of the American Arts and Crafts movement while convalescing on the august lawns of the Valley Hunt Club, the residents of the Arroyo embraced the "communality, rusticity, and neo-medieval appreciation of handicraft" that were promoted across America in Gustav Stickley's *The Craftsman* magazine (Starr 1985, 107). What is notable about the residents of The Arroyo Seco during this period is a quality already noted about Charles Lummis; a certain aesthetic homogeneity expressed through diverse and heterogeneous manifestations. While preoccupations such as health, diet, and the appropriation of local culture were central to many of the residents of the Arroyo, the performance of these preoccupations, in domestic handicraft, home building, and public social display were deliberately idiosyncratic and individualistic. Where Pasadena culture was enforced through a more traditional kind of obedience to certain performances of class and cultural refinement with an attitude of Californian sprezzatura, the rusticity and handcrafted quality of the Arroyo culture is a testament to the value of individual effort and the singular and unique performance of shared intentions.

In addition to a certain aesthetic and ideological affiliation to the Arts and Crafts movement, there is also evidence of a certain degree of cross pollination between the residents of The Arroyo Seco and Gustav Stickley's highly influential magazine, *The Craftsman.* George Wharton James, the most singular voice of the Arroyo, sometime author in *The Land of Sunshine*, gentle professional nemesis of Charles Lummis, and creator of the single issue journal *The Arroyo Craftsman* (1909) became an associate

editor of Stickley's *The Craftsman* in 1904. He was Stickley's man in California, reporting from the far Southwest on the feedback of influence or double hermeneutic between Arroyo culture on the Arts and and Crafts movement more generally.

In February 1904, Stickley published George Wharton James's article, *The influence on the"mission style" upon the civic and domestic architecture of Modern California*" (George Wharton James 1904, 458-469). In this article James writes around the idea that "in California the mission architects were largely controlled by the conditions of the environment" (James 1094, 458). Later in the article, he asserts what would become an article of faith of the American Arts and Crafts movement: "domestic architecture should be the natural outgrowth of the character of the people, of the institutions, customs and habit of a region, modified by climate and scenery" and that buildings should express "their purpose and use" (James, 1904, 463). James also includes a telling quote from the French writer Jules Huret who, writing for *Paris Figaro*, describes California mission architecture as not only "adorable" but also "as varied as Nature herself, graceful, elegant and engaging… in the style of the Spanish Renaissance- 'Mission style' with almost flat roofs of red tiles, little round towers surmounted by Spanish domes, arcaded galleries, imitating the coarser construction of adobe…all are very attractive and possessed of individuality" (Jules Huret cited in James 1904, 461-462).

This phenomenon of individual expression through stylistic convention is again associated with certain aesthetic trends in turn of the century Southern California. Mission-revival style architecture in Southern California encoded two important messages central to *The Craftsman's* generative ethos. First, it demonstrated a fidelity to the local circumstances of climate, geography, history and indigenous non-white

culture. Second, this style represented the "character of the people" (James 1904) who inhabited these buildings. In June of 1904, the year that George Wharton James became associate editor of *The Craftsman*, Stickley dedicated nearly a whole issue to the American Southwest. As if to highlight the intimacy between individualistic ethos and the Southwestern style, Stickley replaces his usual frontispieces of buildings or examples of the decorative arts with an impressionist sketch of George Wharton James [Figure 5]. Here James is depicted as "a certain late-nineteenth century type" and "the buff, hearty, bearded professor…preacher, booster, salesman, huckster, Wizard of Oz" (Starr 1985, 110). The three primary features in this image; the sharp intellect of eyes on the carefully drawn face, the beard of excessive bushiness, and the rushed outline of a Western hat, all work together to present a fantasy image of the craftsman type. In this stylised image of George Wharton James, we are presented with an exemplar of *The Craftman'*s man.

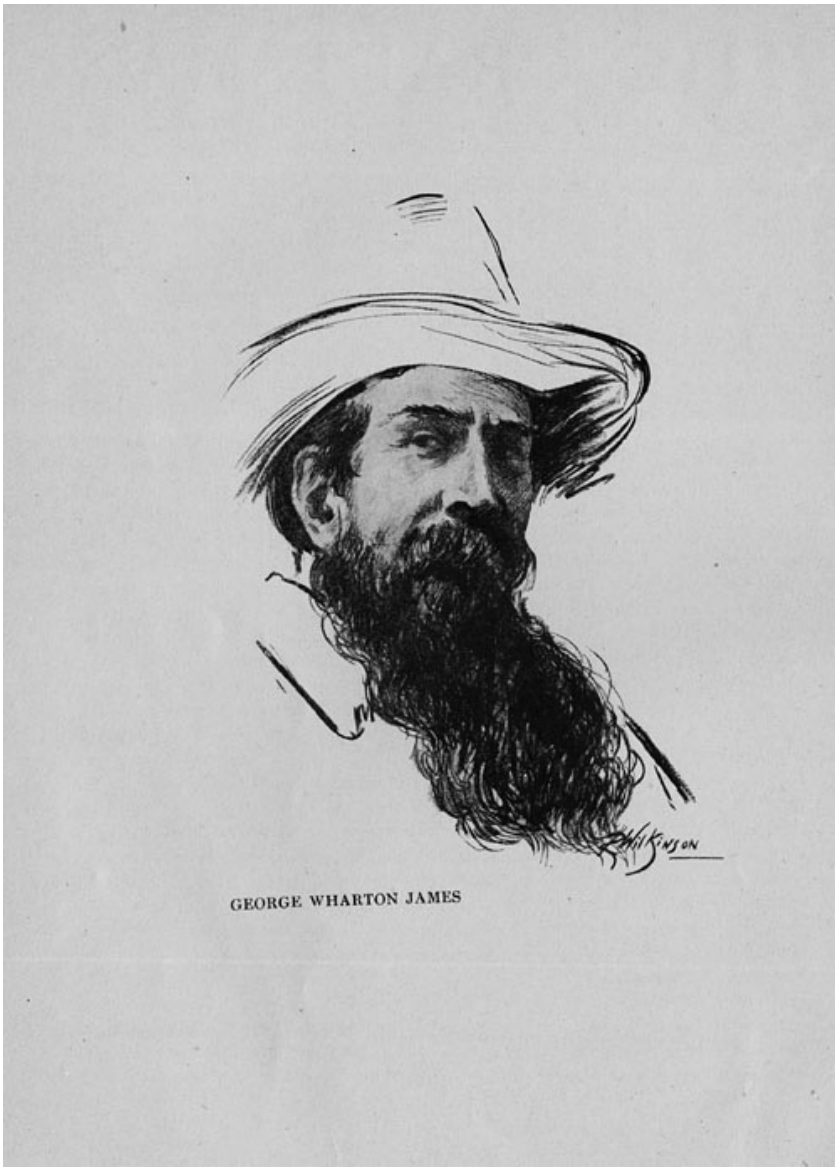


Figure 5
R. Wilkinson. 1904. "George Wharton James." Frontispiece to *The Craftsman* Journal, vol. VI, no. 4 (July 1904). An illustrated rendering of George Wharton James. Source: The Digital Library for the Decorative Arts and Material Culture at The University of Wisconsin-Madison, accessed 11th June 2018. http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?type=article&did=DLDecArts.hdv06n04.i0002&id=DLDecArts.hdv06n04&isize=M.

The July issue of *The Craftsman* also features an article by George Wharton James on the interiors of the Franciscan missions (329-342) as well as an article by Stickley on "Nature and Art" in California (1904). In this article, Stickley repeats the refrain that Southern California provides the perfect setting in which to develop a style

and a practice of art that is aligned with "the intentions of nature" (Stickley 1904, 373). Stickley writes of California that builders need only to pay attention to "the clear indications given by nature. The climate invites out-of-door life. The vegetation is magnificent and rare. The atmospheric effects are too beautiful to be wasted. This alone should determine the style of the California dwellings" (Stickley 1904, 370). Stickley finds much lacking in California residential architecture, particularly that which seeks to ape the colonial style of the East Coast. In his quest for "buildings whose structural lines harmonised with the landscape" (Stickley 1904, 372), Stickley singles out the house of the Art and Crafts gadfly and landscape architect, Mr. Charles Fredric Eaton. His exposé on Eaton and his home focuses less on the house itself, and much more on the relationship between Eaton and the landscape of the area. Stickley waxes poetic about the "the golden browns of the live oaks, the red clusters of pepper trees, the yellow notes that proceed from the oranges, lemons and acacia blossoms" (Stickley 1904, 374). There becomes something distinctly Emersonian about Stickley's "eye traveling southward to the sea, pearly face and glistening in the sun" (Stickley 1904, 374). He seems more taken with the natural landscape of Santa Barbara than the house and its interior.

Notable about Stickley's account of "Nature and Art in California" is that he dedicates many pages to a painterly impressionistic description of the surrounding natural landscape. He writes almost nothing about the house itself and the many photographs included in the article of its rather ponderous dark wood interior. The art in Stickley's 'Nature and Art of California' is arrived at obliquely and through the life of its maker. Stickley's profile of Eaton's house and garden is a sycophantic and highly biographical portrait of the man. He writes of Eaton's "self-reliance and originality" and

his “cunning and patient” labour” (Stickley 1904, 376). Although the article contains many images of Eaton’s neo-medieval furniture and almost rococo spiral wood mouldings aggressively echoed throughout the house in mantles, tables, chair legs, support columns and stair-beams, Stickley seems loath to go indoors, and the essay languishes in the garden, preferring to mull over Eaton’s “theories of agriculture and landscape gardening” (Stickley 1904, 381) rather than attending to the woodwork in the photographs.

The Craftsman Magazine reveals that California was viewed as a kind of ideal site for design to be determined by the ways of living according to local circumstances. Charles and Ray Eames would come to similar conclusions fifty years later. Stickley’s determined interest in Eaton, the man and horticulturist, and the placement of James on the frontispiece of the magazine, point not just to material stylistics, but also an interest in the lived relationship between these educated white Americans and their environment. Taken to an extreme, the performance of craftsmanship and fidelity to the land and ‘its people’ would supersede any material result. For many individuals building homes along The Arroyo Seco, the performance of construction was central to the aesthetic and symbolic content of the house. Nowhere is this performance more clear than in the house of Charles Fletcher Lummis.

<u>El Alisal: The Building and Photographs of the Building</u>

Lummis observed, “Any fool can write a book but it takes a man to dovetail a door” (Lummis quoted in Boris 1987, 211). The house that Lummis built, El Alisal, “dramatized perhaps better than anything he had written Lummis’s feeling for the rugged romance of Southern California as a Sub-Region of New Spain” (Starr 1985,

84). El Alisal, and the role it played in the social and cultural life of the area, provides the most convincing material proof of Lummis's relentless integration of his public persona and his personal identity into a cohesive, unified and self-determined life experience. Built by hand over eighteen years, El Alisal, which translates as 'Place of the Sycamore' (Apostol 1994, 43) was an craftsman style "L-shaped house that he [Lummis] called his stone castle" (Apostol 1994, 43). Lummis purchased the land in September of 1892, but only broke ground on the foundations in 1898. The image in Figure 7 clearly shows Lummis still very much dressing up for house construction in 1925.

El Alisal was Lummis's home, exhibition hall, elabourate photographic set and salon. The house is a layered palimpsest of stylistic references, personal touches, and an overwhelming picayune of detailing. The central animating thesis of Alexander McClung's *Landscapes of Desire: Anglo Mythologies of Los Angeles* (2000) lays down a very helpful conceit for understanding Lummis's house and its connection to the development of contemporary forms of lifestyle identification in Los Angeles. McClung's central argument is that "anglophone Los Angeles sought to reconcile two contradictory visions of ideal place and space: acquired Arcadia, a found natural paradise; and invented Utopia, an empty place inviting development" (McClung 2000, xvi). For McClung, "the mythologies that have governed Los Angeles are ultimately Arcadian (McClung 2000, 14). This myth of an Arcadian paradise is perhaps best expressed in the Anglo nostalgia for the lost landscape of Mexican California.

In *Ramona Memories* (2005) Dydia DeLyser has written the most authoritative cultural history on Helen Hunt Jackson's 1884 novel *Ramona* and the cultural force that this one work had in establishing a local imaginary that located "the past as part of the

landscape of Southern California". Or more simply stated, that "time is contained in space" (McClung 2000, 84-85). This concept of "time contained in space' would somewhat ironically lead Lummis in his construction of El Alisal to labour towards a constructed utopia with Arcadian motifs. McClung describes Los Angeles as "extracting a Utopian commitment" from those labouring to find "a remembered paradise not only of leisure but of fruitful fulfilling labour" (McClung 2000, 14-15). While McClung is correct in identifying certain basic generative myths at play in the development of Los Angeles, he is unnecessarily dismissive of their underlying commercial intentions. He disregards what he describes a "materialistic explanation...of industrial and commercial attractions" (McClung 2000, 14) when understanding the early development of Los Angeles. Lummis's house El Alisal, much like McClung's analytical approach, reveals much more about cultural attitudes than it does about material development. El Alisal stands as material evidence of a tendency towards the individual construction and performance of a curated selection of cultural imaginaries. Charles Lummis is an early and prolific exemplar of this impulse to integrate and embody cultural experience.

Charles Lummis was so influenced by his reading of Helen Hunt's novel *Ramona* (1884) that he not only adopted his own idiosyncratic versions of Spanish dress and food (DeLyser 2005, 47) but also attempted to marry into the supposed inspiration of Hunt's novel, the prominent Californio family the del Valles. Helen Hunt's novel tells the story of Ramona, a half Scottish, half Native American orphan raised by Senora Gonzaga Moreno, the sister of Ramona's deceased foster mother. The novel traces Ramona's fate from unloved foster child living in the bucolic idyll of an old Californio Rancho to a doomed marriage and back again to finally marry the heir to the "Moreno Rancho". The author, Helen Hunt Jackson, intended the novel to be a naturalistic

portrayal of the poor treatment of Native Americans in the American Southwest. Hunt is also known for her non-fiction work, *A Century of Dishonor* (1881) on the historical ill-treatment of Native Americans in the United States. Despite Hunt's best intentions, *Ramona* is best remembered for its sentimental portrayal of life on an old Mexican-California Rancho. In *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California* (2005), Dydia DeLyser is sensitive to Hunt's intentions but assiduously traces unintended popularity of both the setting of the novel and the lifestyle of its characters. For DeLyser, "regional fiction with its picturesque description and curious dialects- enabled a transformation of potentially disruptive political differences into quaint cultural differences" (DeLyser 2005, 29).

For DeLyser and others critics such as Marguerite Shaffer, author of *See America First: Tourism and National Identity* (2001), *Ramona* was part of a genre of regional historical fiction that portrayed Native American and Mexican cultural as "self contained and belonging to the past" (DeLyser 2005, 29). By relegating these cultures to the past and ontologically locating them on a temporal plane, they become located "outside the time and place of possible intervention" (DeLyser 2005, 30). Freed of shackles of moral intention, Helen Hunt's novel proved immensely popular, spawning numerous films, branded products, a themed *Ramona* village, and the still-performed *Ramona Outdoor Play* (DeLyser 2005 137-188). However, the primary lasting influence of Helen Hunt's novel was the marked interest in California and the greater Southwest as a tourist destination. Tourists flocked to California to experience for themselves the old California as invented by an Anglo imagination. The California culture depicted in *Ramona* was repurposed by an anxious Anglo culture as a salve to all that hailed from the crowded, overworked, industrial East Coast and Middle West.

Regional fiction served as the first rung on the ladder to permanent residence in the California southland. Shaffer writes that, "tourism offered a paradoxical promise: a one-of-a-kind personal experience as a mass-produced phenomenon…a singular, personal adventure for each individual" (Shaffer 2001, 264). Charles Lummis, with the curated lifestyle that he performed, embodied, and represented in an increasingly tight neurotic spiral, stands as a supreme exemplar of this logic. Shaffer writes that tourism, "as a consumer experience occupied a strange middle ground between consumption and leisure and mass media." (Shaffer 2001, 264). I would extend this argument and posit that the touristic experience as defined by Shaffer becomes, in Anglo-occupied Southern California, a lens through which to view all of one's personal experiences.

The Huntington Library contains a leatherbound photographic album created by Lummis in 1888. This album quite literally illustrates Lummis's infatuation not only with Rancho Camulos, the supposed house of Ramona (DeLyser 2005, 48), but also with the del Valles themselves. The album is covered in brown leather with centred gold lettering reading, "Susanita del Valle". Lummis again dedicates the volume to this younger female member of the del Valle family when he writes in the flyleaf, "Susanita del Valle with best wishes of Charles Lummis, Feb 3, 1888." What is most revealing about this album is not simply his affection for Susanita, but what his choice of images says about the scope of his interest in the del Valle family and Old Mexican California culture more generally. In his attempt to capture the heart of Susanita del Valle, Lummis reveals those elements of Californio culture that were close to his own (for notes on the use of the term Californio, see DeLyser 2005, 196). The images in this gift album can be divided into four clean categories: portraits, architectural photographs, landscapes, and people either working or dancing. The architectural photographs all taken from a

centred vantage have a forensic quality, each image capturing a particular component of the house. Many of the features that Lummis most assiduously documents at Rancho Camulos will later reappear as elements of his own house, El Alisal. The images of dancing and labour are notable in this album as Lummis would also attempt to reenact this series at El Alisal. His photographic collection contains many images of both labour and play at El Alisal. Taken together, it is clear that this album is very much a prototype for a style of living that Lummis would seek to recreate. The combination of material and experiential stylistics would become a hallmark of both Lummis's house and its process of design and construction.

Lummis's photographic collection testifies to the way that he sought to bring both his ethnographic work as well as his personal life and home into the same narrative and conceptual frame. Charles Lummis is an early exemplar of the tendency to index one's experience and ultimately one's identity through a holistic and permanent adoption of the touristic experience. Shaffer writes that the tourist experience offered a space for "physical and mental reinvigoration, a glimpse of 'the good life'" (Shaffer 2001, 264). The touristic impulse and its syncretic relationship between collective narratives and the individual experience becomes for Charles Lummis fundamental in the everyday articulation of individual identity. Charles Lummis's integration of labour and leisure, the personal and the public, the domestic and the municipal, the lived and the built, into a cohesive aesthetic vocabulary reifies the logic of tourism into a personal regime of practices for the betterment of everyday life. This sentiment is very much a spatial and material elabouration on William James's regime for personal reinvigoration. This channeling of narrative into personal experience would for Lummis take material form in the building of his house, El Alisal; his museum, The Southwest Museum; and

his vast ethnographic collection of photographs, essays, novels, poems, and wax recordings. While academic in detail, his collection is highly idiosyncratic in both its approach and in Lummis's proximity to his subject matter. Throughout his career Lummis tried to simultaneously embody and represent his own unique fantasy southwestern ideal. The result is a house that doubles as a museum, and an ethnographic collection that contains in-situ self-portraits, casual family snapshots, and rare documentation of Mexican-American and Native American culture in the moment of its appropriation.

Throughout the collection, Lummis inserts himself, always dressing the part: he is the main recurring character in his long multi-media narrative of the American Southwest. In 1912, Lummis's colleague George Wharton James wrote a biographical article on Lummis for the general topic periodical *The National Magazine*. Titled, "Charles F. Lummis: A Unique Literary Personage of Modern America", the article provides a contemporaneous confirmation of Lummis's peculiar form of cultural appropriation and deliberate aesthetic curation. In one particularly telling passage James writes "His [Lummis] personality and individuality are peculiarly his own. He stands out as one of the most individualistic men of his time" (James 1912, 139). Lummis is portrayed as man of 'Modern America' notable for his personality which, in turn, is notable for its distinctiveness. With individuality as a marker of his manhood, James looks for material evidence that Lummis is a man who cares little for the "opinion of the ordinary and mediocre" (James 1912, 139). Conveniently James finds that Lummis's "personal appearance is as strikingly his own as is his mentality" (James 1912, 139). While perhaps the combination of elements is Lummis's own sartorial remix, James's description of Lummis betrays the hallmark of Lummis's procedure for living:

appropriation and performative self-representation: “His suit is of corduroy with an Indian drawn work shirt, a Pueblo Indian belt around his waist and a Navajo bow-string guard on his left wrist. This with a comfortable slouch hat, completes his costume” (James 1912, 138). Lummis’s Southwestern costume is, at its heart, a suit, albeit in the rusticated fabric of corduroy. He has accessorised with a tour of the Native American Southwest and completed the look with a slouched broad-brimmed hat, an iconic standard of the American West.

Lummis was keen to both perform and document his practice of house building. His personal photographic collection gives a healthy sample of the great variety of ways that Lummis’s house served as both a platform and medium upon which Lummis would continually project his self-representations. Throughout the photo archive, Lummis can be seen placing himself within highly stylised photographs of El Alisal at various stages of construction. In some images, Lummis is seen labouring on the masonry or posing with his Native American assistants [Figure 6]. In another photo, an unbuilt El Alisal is represented as a Spanish ruin, not in a state of construction but one of decay and romantic dissolution back into the landscape [Figure 7].

Figure 6
Unidentified photographer. Circa 1900. Untitled. Photograph of El Alisal under construction. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M101183;type=102;print=1.

Figure 7
Unidentified photographer. Circa 1925. Untitled. Photograph of Charles F. Lummis in work clothes at El Alisal. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M99377;type=102;print=1

As the house took almost twenty years to build, the construction of El Alisal became internal both to its design and a determinant in its style and form. For Lummis the performance of home construction was one of the primary functions of El Alisal. There is a kind of mad excess of the craftsman ethic at work in Lummis's house. From the laying of its first foundation stones, the construction of El Alisal was a symbolic object materially representing Lummis's own image of himself. The house also acted as a stage on which he embodied, performed, and codified a certain lifestyle that he saw as emerging co-productively out of the construction and representation of El Alisal.

Figure 8
Photographer unknown. 7th November 1949. "Stone house built by Charles Lummis." Exterior view of El Alisal. Source: Los Angeles Public Library, Herald Examiner Collection, accessed on September 6th 2020. https://tessa.lapl.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/photos/id/16746/rec/1

Figure 9
Christopher Gonzalez-Crane. Photograph of El Alisal. From site visit to El Alisal, 24th March 2012.

El Alisal is a large house, faced with large granite boulders and wrapping around a large verdant patio (C. Gonzalez-Crane, Site Visits, El Alisal, 24th March 2012 and 26th August 2012). The house contains thirteen rooms, many of which are decorated with granite boulders. Additionally there is a bell tower in the style of the San Gabriel mission.

Figures 8 and 9 show the exterior of El Alisal from two different sides. In Figure 8, each window is idiosyncratically designed to be unique, yet each window's disparate size and shape create a pleasing balance to the overall character of the house. Figure 9 shows a more playful, rustic angle of the house. The stone tower lends the house the air of a miniature castle. In both of these photographs we can see how the house is a

manifestation of the way in which Lummis clings to an imagined past while simultaneously imagining a utopian future. A particular detail in Figure 8 is indicative of Lummis's forward thinking approach to house-building: on the roof on the right side of the photograph, solar panels are visible. These are some of the first prototype solar panels designed to heat water for the house. Lummis was one of the first early adopters of a technology that quickly became popular at the time. Figure 10 depicts an advertisement for a "Climax Solar Water Heater" which promises to provide hot water without fire, cost, or inconvenience. The use of the word 'discomfort' taps into a key concern for Los Angeles residents like Lummis who sought out the good life. The climate of Los Angeles, and the consistent sunshine, made such solar heaters particularly appealing to LA residents who could afford such a luxury. This is another example of the particular climate of the area combining with the forward-thinking attitudes of its inhabitants to create commercial success stories. For Lummis, solar panels fulfilled his aspirations towards an Arcadian past of nostalgic pastoralism (living of, and with the natural environment) and a Utopian society of the future (using manmade technology to create a comfortable life).

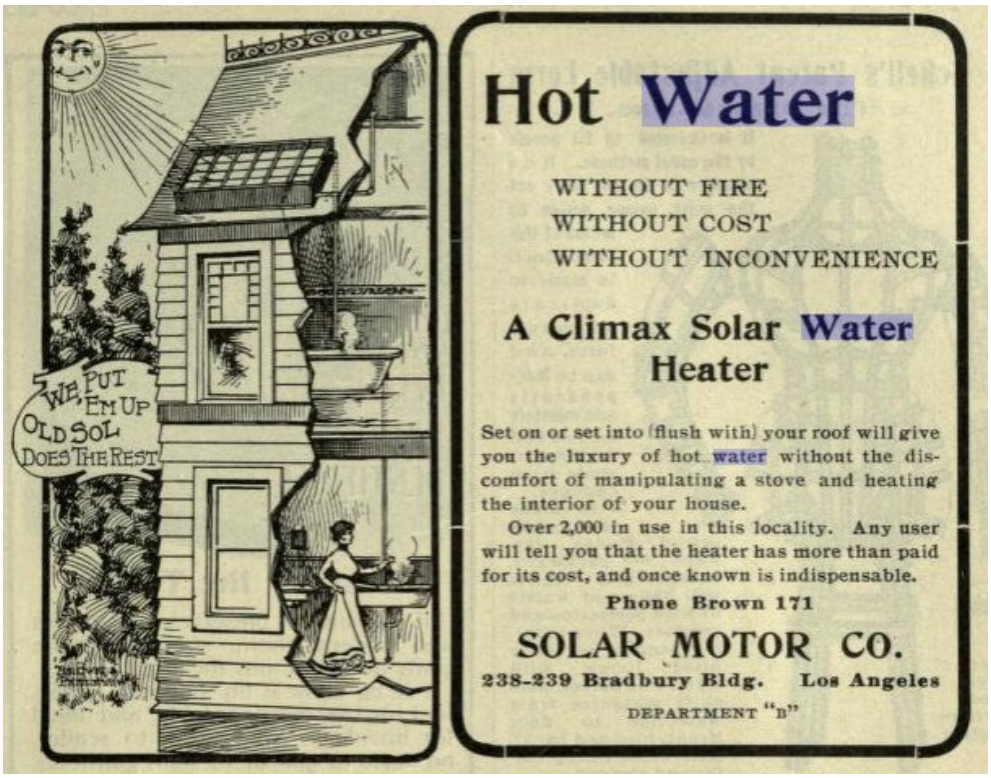


Figure 10
Advertisement for solar water heaters. Lummis, Charles F. October 1901. *The land of sunshine.* vol. 15 (1901) Los Angeles, California. Source: The Bancroft Library, accessed on 7th September 2020. https://archive.org/details/outwestland15archrich

The house served at once as Lummis's home, as a museum of the greater southwest, and as Lummis's own fantasy about old Spanish California. El Alisal was a physical manifestation of Lummis's passionate vision of Southern California as a place of wildness, romance, and personal freedom. Lummis's house is significant as a total artefact in Banham's sense of the word. Through careful photographic representation, Lummis assiduously documented the construction of El Alisal. Indeed the act of self-representation is the central animating element both in the construction and life of the house. For Lummis, the act of construction and its performance and subsequent representation were as aesthetically important and significant to El Alisal as the relentless bric-a-brac of his architectural and decorative detailing. Every post and lintel

seems harassed by the mark of unrelenting chamfering. There is a distinct air of overwork, and an excess of labour that belabours each object. This is a key example of Lummis taking the craftsman ideal to a mad excess. As mentioned, in order to document his labours for posterity, Lummis was equally enthusiastic to photographically document every stage of construction. The Autry Museum of the American West took over Lummis's vast archive when it subsumed Lummis's own South West Museum in 2015. The archive contains over five hundred images spanning over thirty years of house construction. When viewed together, it becomes clear that Lummis is at pains to remind us that it was always made by his own hands, and those of his Native American assistants.

Above all, El Alisal was Charles Lummis's family home. He raised his children at El Alisal, where he built small additional structures on the property for them to live as adults. Figure 11 shows a photograph, taken by Lummis in 1899, depicting his children at play during the construction of his house. In the image the children appear to be casually posed in front of an unbuilt house. An oversized ladder rests intentionally in the background. This ladder has both a functional and symbolic function. Lummis deliberately included ladders in many of his images of El Alisal. The visual motif of a ladder leading up into the sky was common feature throughout the southwest. They are a unique architectural element of the adobe houses built into the cliffs by the by the Pueblo Native Americans of the Southwest. While providing a form of retractable access to their cliff dwellings, these ladders were also a material representation of their belief in the permeability between the physical and spiritual worlds. The ladders were both a symbolic and functional object, that through their utility, highlighted the permeability between this world and the next. Lummis was very much familiar with this

tradition from his extensive travel in Southwest among the Isleta Pueblo Native Americans in New Mexico (Apostol 1994, 101). The ladder in this photograph is a deliberate visual echo of the Native American Ladder, and can also be seen in an image that remains on the wall of the Museum Room of the Lummis house [Figure 14].

Figure 11
Charles F. Lummis. 1899. Untitled. Photograph of Amado Lummis with two Pueblo boys during construction at El Alisal. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M101488;type=102.

Figure 12
Charles F. Lummis. Circa 1900. Untitled. Photograph of Turbese Lummis with an unidentified girl at El Alisal while it is under construction. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M109171;type=102.

Figure 13
Charles F. Lummis. 1899. Untitled. Photograph of Turbese and Amado Lummis and an unidentified boy during construction at El Alisal. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M101480;type=102.

Figure 14
Photographer unknown. Date unknown. Untitled. Photograph on the wall in El Alisal. Presumably taken during Lummis's time in New Mexico in the pueblo of Isleta. From site visit to El Alisal, 24th March 2012.

Figure 15
Photographer unknown. Date unknown. "Living Room in Lummis's House". Interior view of Charles F. Lummis's house showing the living room, with numerous throw rugs, blankets, and pots adorning it. Source: Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection, Security Pacific National Bank Collection, accessed on 15th May 2018. https://tessa.lapl.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/photos/id/95964/rec/14.

Amongst the symbolic features of El Alisal, of particular significance are the photographic windows that Lummis installed in the Museum Room and the curved Tower Room [Figures 16 and 17]. These windows contain transparent photographs taken by Lummis during his travels. Described by Apostol as “a vita in vitro of over a decade of his explorations” (Apostol 1994, 49) these photographic transparencies contain scenes from Lummis’s travel in Mexico, Peru, and the American Southwest. Lummis actually sought to visually place his own biography, one could even say his own subjective experience, between the resident viewer inside and the landscape outside.

Figure 16
Charles F. Lummis. 1899. Untitled. Cyanotype of El Alisal interior. View of unfinished picture windows within unfinished “Museum Room”. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 15th May 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M110104;type=102.

Figure 17
Photographer unknown. Date unknown. “Interior of Lummis’s house.” Interior view of Charles F. Lummis’s house, showing the window bench in the curved tower room, with three windows and a timbered ceiling. Inlaid picture window which no longer exists can be seen in the tower window. Sun window on the right side was the last to receive the setting sun. Source: Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection, Security Pacific National Bank Collection, accessed on 15th May 2018. https://tessa.lapl.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/photos/id/107633/rec/1.

As can be seen from Figure 16, the photographic window in the museum room was both designed and completed before any other features were added to the room. Figure 16 clearly shows an empty room with a bespoke temporary work table set up directly below the picture windows. Tools and supplies necessary for the installation for the photographic transparencies can be seen on the table. This photograph clearly shows that these windows were a central animating design element to the house as a whole. Throughout the house Lummis sought to weave his own biography and travels within a larger cultural pastiche of Spanish and American of indigenous ancestry. In so doing, Lummis enfolds himself into a vision of the Southwest so as to almost be a parody of himself. When George Wharton James wrote his profile on Lummis in the National Magazine he quotes a poem from a 1902 San Francisco pamphlet that read,

Who first beheld the Indian race?
Columbus you Say-Tisin't true!
I was the first to see his face—
I've had him copyrighted, too.
I'm Local Color, Sitting Bull,
Tracy the Bandit, Teddy's guest,
The very atmosphere is full of ME,
Charles Lummis, Who's the West
(Newsletter October 11, 1902, cited in *National Magazine* issue 27, 1912)

The light-hearted tone of this poem is actually a cutting critique of an operation of enfolding that Lummis took very seriously. In the tower or campanile room seen in Figure 17, Lummis has included two sets of photographic windows as well as a wooden sunburst. The wooden sunburst is installed in the most westerly-facing window so as to catch the final rays of the setting sun. Taken together these tower windows help demonstrate the degree of intentionality in the design of the house.

The photographic window is positioned for maximum viewing potential, so that the outside environment is made into a framed, aesthetically pleasing view to be enjoyed through the lens of Lummis's own travels. Lummis never stopped working on El Alisal and he saw it perpetually construction a central to his regime of good health and a strong body. The extent to which Lummis both documented and performed his work on El Alisal points to his interest in what views were possible throughout its building, and what those views revealed about the house's surrounding environment.

With each architectural flourish Lummis seeks to embed himself and his own biography within an imagined cultural history of old California. In Figure 18, Lummis can be seen at his writing desk. Located in the upper floors of the El Alisal, Lummis nicknamed his office The Lion's Den. This also became the name of his regular editorial in *The Land of Sunshine.* Here the actual space of the office, Lummis's own labour, and the text of the editorial become flattened into a single cohesive gesture.

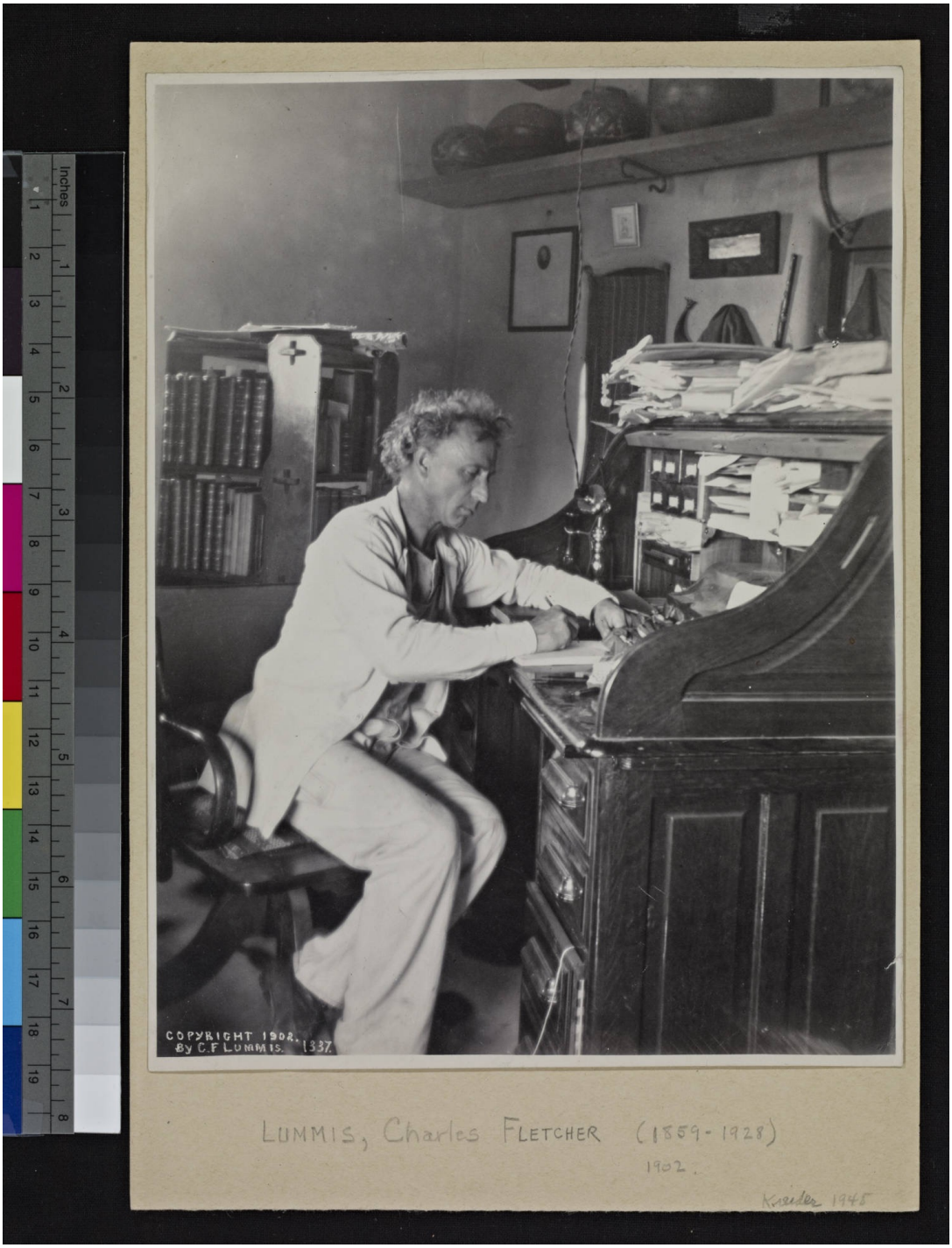


Figure 18
Charles F. Lummis. 1902. “Charles F. Lummis sitting at his desk, writing.” Photograph of Lummis sitting at desk. A telephone can be seen next to Lummis’s forearm. Source: Photographs, The Huntington Digital Library, accessed on 15th May 2018. https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p15150coll2/id/10404.

The room containing the photographic windows would become the museum room (see Figure 16). This room, although within the private house, would become the spiritual echo of The Southwest Museum, of which Lummis was the founder. It stands as testament to the degree to which is own identity was linked to his possession and collection of Southwestern material culture. In addition to being a family home, a miniature museum, and a personal travelogue neurotically chamfered into the shape of a house over twenty five years, El Alisal played host to numerous and infamous 'noises' or social gatherings. These were attended by a broad swath of California cultural figures including John Muir, Will Rogers, Frederic Remington, and Carl Sandburg (Apostol 1994, 53). El Alisal stood as palimpsest and repository for all of Lummis's other activities. Traces of his work as ethnographer, photographer, collector, journalist, and self appointed doyen of all things Southwestern, are self-consciously represented within the house.

In addition to the photographs of El Alisal, Lummis made a series of photographs of guitar players [Figures 19-29], which are useful here in illustrating the way that his views and experiences of Southern California merged into a hybrid where he was both subject and object. Lummis was fascinated by traditional Mexican guitar playing, and to this end he took a series of photographs of Mexican guitarists playing music in the grounds of El Alisal. This is a clear example of Lummis documenting traditional local culture. What complicates this is that Lummis did not just act as photographer or ethnographer. On many occasions he also put himself in front of the camera, posing in some photographs with a traditional Mexican guitar (see Figures 24 and 25). In both of these photographs, Lummis is wearing his white work overalls, and he is posing with two of his children. It is striking that he is not wearing the costume of

a guitarist, so it seems that he is performing as himself - but a self that has become part of his vision of the local culture. Furthermore, we can see that other photographs in the series feature Lummis's own friends posing as guitarists, each performer positioning their gaze off camera to evoke the romantic expression that a typical guitarist might assume while playing a song. Considered in light of Lummis's various and overlapping identities as photographer, historian, folklorist, etc, these photographs speak to his all-encompassing symbiosis in Southern California, wherein his self improvement is intertwined with El Alisal's ongoing building works, which in turn is enmeshed within the wider picture of Los Angeles as a place of deliberate culture i.e. lifestyle.

These photographs, particularly when considered as a series, comprise an index of Lummis's use of photography as a means of recording and performing lifestyle. They are a collection of performed, staged memories that were created for this purpose. The images offer an insight into how Lummis oriented himself within the proto-lifestyle that he was constructing. We can see echoes of these early moments of performed self-expression in contemporary aspects of lifestyle performance, in which selfie culture, influencer culture, and cultural appropriation are intertwined.

Figure 19
Charles F. Lummis. 1911. Untitled. Cyanotype of Guillermo Arcos with guitar at El Alisal.
Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M97113;type=102.

Figure 20
Charles F. Lummis. 1907. Untitled. Gelatin silver print of Francisco Amate playing the guitar at El Alisal. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M255254;type=102.

Figure 21
Charles F. Lummis. 1904. Untitled. Photograph of Rosendo Uruchurtu playing guitar at El Alisal.
Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M101228;type=102.

Figure 22
Charles F. Lummis. 1904. Untitled. Photograph of Rosa and Luisa Villa at El Alisal. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M75133;type=102.

Figure 23
Charles F. Lummis. 1904. Untitled. Cyanotype of May Ethelyn Bourne and Turbese Lummis playing the guitar at El Alisal. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M102958;type=102.

Figure 24
Photographer unknown. 1903. Untitled. Cyanotype of Charles F. Lummis playing guitar for his children, Turbese and Jordan, in the courtyard of El Alisal. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M101733;type=102.

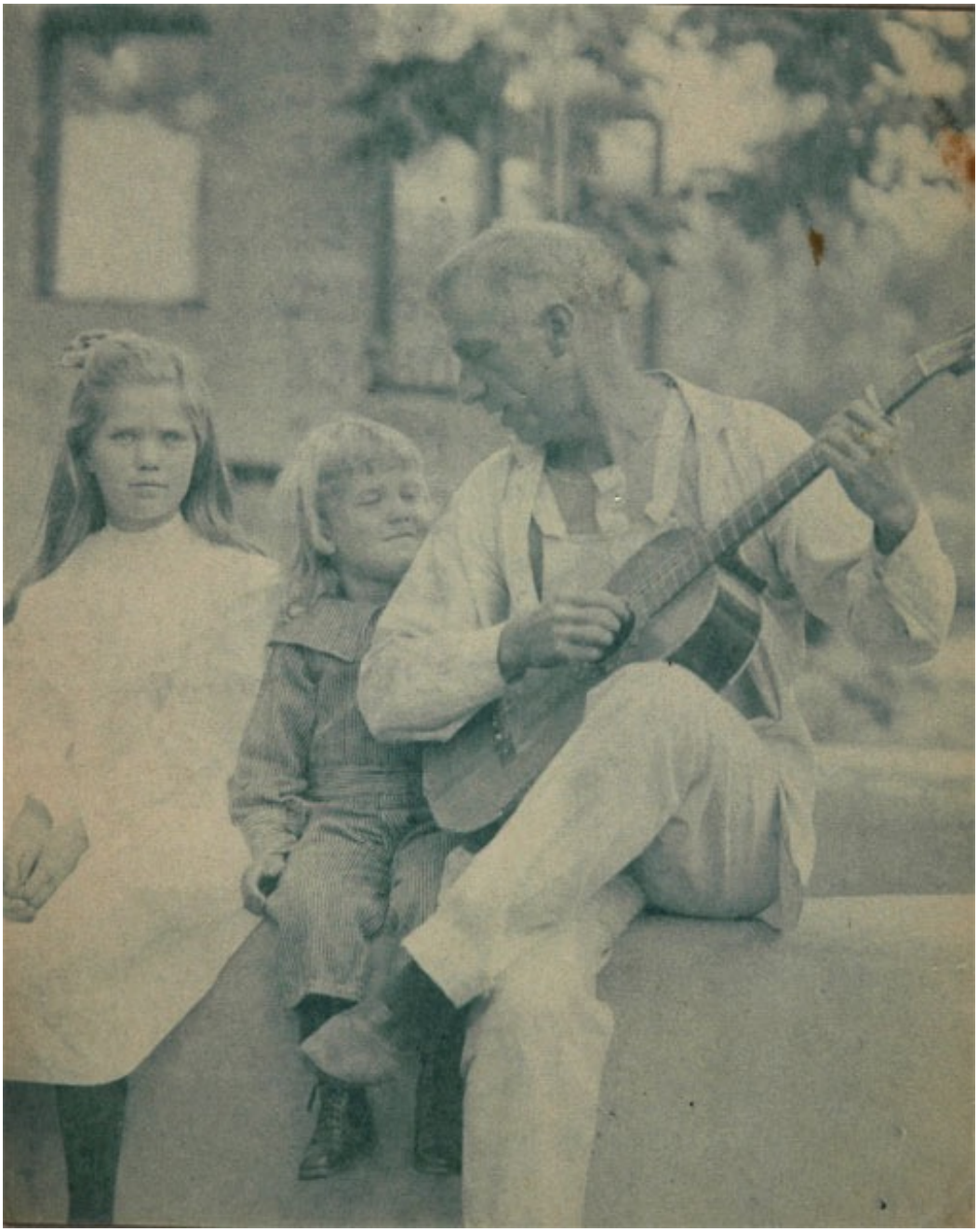


Figure 25
Photographer unknown. 1903. Untitled. Photograph of Charles F. Lummis playing guitar for his children, Turbese and Jordan, in the courtyard of El Alisal. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M101724;type=102.

Figure 26
Charles F. Lummis. 1904. Untitled. Photograph of Rosendo Uruchurtu playing guitar and using a wax cylinder recorder at El Alisal on 5th June 1904. Source: The Autry Museum of the American West, accessed on 11th June 2018. http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M17118;type=102.

Towards a Conception of Lifestyle

This case study of Charles Lummis reveals several key points in the emergence of lifestyle. Lummis's many positions of influence in Los Angeles at the turn of the century meant that he was able to shape the public discourse around Southern California. As a high profile proponent of the Arts and Crafts movement who was also passionate about collecting and performing pre-Anglo cultures of the region, Lummis succeeded not just in making his own anthologies of Mexican, Native American, Indian, and Spanish cultures, but also in making this act of preserving into an act of creation - of himself, his lifestyle, and of Los Angeles. His lifelong labour on El Alisal made the house a mirror for his efforts at self-improvement. Working on the house was working on himself, and this process of self-determination can be mapped onto Los Angeles as a place defined by its promises of transition, aspiration, and actualisation. Lummis's picture window that faced the sunset is a useful metaphor here: picture windows are focal points in a house, and for this particular window, the focal point is the sunset i.e. the west. In American ideology, the West was the frontier; a boundary-land where the civilisation met wildness. Anglo-Americans saw the West as a destination and an opportunity, but where does a man of the frontier go once he has arrived at the frontier? In constant tension between civilisation and wildness, the concept of the frontier supersedes the site of the frontier. For Lummis, the journey to the west continued inwards in his efforts at self improvement, and outwards in his lifelong quest to create the brand of Los Angeles as "close to nature, romantic, generous, simple content" (Boris 1987, 211). The West becomes a mindset and a way of life that must be constantly performed.

Lummis's vision of his own self as symbiotic with his environment can be perhaps best illustrated by his photographic practice. He used photography not only to document the building of El Alisal, but also to perform the act of building. He photographed Mexican guitar players and also staged scenes of himself and his friends holding Mexican guitars. In doing so, Lummis merged the acts of viewing, documenting, creating, and experiencing. His practice of setting up photographs in which he would be a feature is an interesting precursor to the contemporary phenomenon of selfies. Lummis saw his role as both behind and in front of the camera: creating the picture and inhabiting it. In this way, Lummis laid the groundwork for a conception of lifestyle predicated on intentionality, self-realisation, and performativity. More clearly than any of his peers, Lummis set out the ways in which performing deliberate culture became what we now know as lifestyle.

Chapter Four

"Bustle and business and building": Place-making and Lifestyle in Pasadena

Thus far I have examined the emergence of self-help; early tourism in Yosemite; and Charles Lummis's conception of lifestyle in order to track how California was exemplary in the creation of a deliberate culture that was linked inextricably to personal identity. During the period 1880-1915, these phenomena materialised across California, and we have seen how the particular constructions of the self were nurtured and borne out of specific places and actors. It is the process of these trends originating and coalescing specifically in California during this period that I term deliberate culture i.e. the self-curated life experience; lifestyle.

I will now track the origins of deliberate culture through the development of the city of Pasadena. Between 1880-1915 Pasadena developed from a small town aimed at wealthy, erudite autodidacts cultivating oranges to a bustling city based on tourism and residential real estate. At the same time as this economic boom, individuals were performing this particular operation of self-fashioning termed deliberate culture. While it could be assumed that it was a coincidence of history that Pasadena was self-conceived at the same time as lifestyle was constructed, I propose that Pasadena was unique in that it was created in tandem with the construction of lifestyle. Not only was Pasadena's growth historically parallel to the development of the phenomenon of lifestyle, its material development was facilitated by the emergence of lifestyle as a performance. Pasadena became a city designed for this performance and experience of self-management. In this way, I argue that Pasadena and deliberate culture emerged together.

The Greater Los Angeles area experienced a land speculation boom from 1886-1888. In Pasadena specifically and Los Angeles more generally, the period of time known as the boom can be tied to the completion of the railroad to Pasadena and the opening of the Raymond Hotel. Ann Scheid in *Pasadena: Crown of the Valley* cites the 1880 census as recording 392 people living in Pasadena. During the boom this number rocketed to 12-1500 people (Scheid 1986, 54). Pasadena transformed over two years from a hamlet of over-educated orchardists to a rapidly developing city that was both adjacent to and part of Greater Los Angeles. Wealthy academics and aristocrats began to visit Pasadena in order to enact choices and perform activities; picking oranges, going camping, wearing the blue overalls of labourers. The performative nature of such activities is founded on intentionality; wealthy people choosing to make pastimes of activities that formed the daily life of working people and labourers. In order to live up to the vision of its wealthy visitors, Pasadena was built around its inhabitants and, in places, over a matter of days.

This chapter traces the development of Pasadena through some of these particular inhabitants and their experience of the city. The source material for this chapter is largely first person accounts of the city and its growth. In addition to diaristic accounts, I will refer to promotional literature, postcards, and photography, some of which will be used in a historiographical sense. I will look at early descriptions of Pasadena by the writer and naturalist John Muir (1838-1914) and the then president of the Pasadena Board of Trade D.W. Coolidge. Following this I will look more closely at representations of the city in its promotional activities such as The Tournament of Roses. The chapter will then turn to two diaries written in and around Pasadena at this time; the diaries of early tourists and visitors both famous and unknown reveal the

preoccupations of the early tourists and residents. Amy Bridges was a wealthy tourist from Massachusetts who travelled to Pasadena on the Raymond and Whitcomb tours. I will look at Bridges's diary which gives a vivid account of Pasadena during its boom, when she stayed at the Raymond Hotel during its first season in 1886-1887. I will also look at the diary of Carrie Call, a woman who travelled with her family from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles by covered wagon in 1886. Finally, the chapter will examine the early historical writings of the local prominent figure George Wharton James (1858-1923) whose work was largely interested in California and its development, and spanned writing, journalism, lectures, and photography. Through the close-reading of these case studies I seek to move towards an understanding of deliberate culture that connects the development of the self with the development of the environment.

Aristocrats Picking Oranges

I begin this walk-through of the early days of Pasadena with Jeanne Carr and her home Carmelita. Jeanne Carr (1825-1903) was an author and horticulturalist whose home Carmelita was "the cultural centre of early Pasadena" (Scheid 1986, 35). Carr cultivated the grounds at Carmelita into a vast garden of exotic and diverse trees and plants, and developed the house as a hub for regular literary salons that attracted many high profile thinkers and intellectuals of the period. Carmelita was later to become the home of the Pasadena Art Institute. Carr was a mentor figure to the writer and naturalist John Muir, and some of their letters were published in a book of correspondence titled, *Letters to a Friend; Written to Mrs. Ezra S. Carr; 1866-1879* (John Muir, 1915). After a visit to Jeanne Carr at Carmelita, John Muir wrote the following description of

Pasadena in a letter dated September 1, 1877 (published in Chapter X 'The San Gabriel Valley' in *Steep Trails*, John Muir, 1918):

> The Pasadena Colony […] is scarce three years old, but is growing rapidly into importance, like a pet tree, and already forms one of the best contributions to culture yet accomplished in the county. […] There is nothing more remarkable in the character of the colony than the literary and scientific taste displayed. The conversation of most I have met here is seasoned with a smack of mental ozone, attic salt, which struck me as being rare among the tillers of California soil. People of taste and money in search of a home would do well to prospect the resources of this aristocratic little colony.

Muir's comparison of Pasadena growing "like a pet tree" is notable. In the word "pet", he refers to the hobbyist foundations of the new colony members' tree-planting. The "importance" of such planting is foregrounded by Muir earlier in his letter; "When a man plants a tree he plants himself". This may also be a subtle reference to Carr's attention to, and cultivation of, Muir's own career; she was an instrumental figure in his life and work. Indeed in a letter written to Carr while he was living in Yosemite Valley, Muir addresses Carr as "spiritual mother" (letter dated March 30, 1873, Muir, 1915). It is clear that Carr's cultivation of plants and people were interlinked endeavours. In addition to this, the phrase "pet tree" also emphasises the special attention and effort that Pasadena's educated labourers paid to their activities on the land. Pasadena was built so quickly because each new inhabitant applied themselves to their individual plot of land - to their "pet tree" - so diligently. Pasadena was the combined result of many individual, like-minded intentions. Muir links the growth and cultivation of the land to the development of culture in the region: each tree's significance to the whole of Pasadena's geography interlinks with each inhabitant's "literary and scientific" contribution to the overall cultural health of the colony. In this way, the act of nurturing the land and the act of nurturing the culture became integral to one another. Muir plays

with the scale of the land to implicate each individual inhabitant of the colony's development.

Muir's poetic conceit that good conversation is seasoned with intellect draws out the concept of cultural "taste" to a physical experience. This again brings culture into the physical realm, making it something tangible that must be cultivated like the land. Muir extends his metaphor beyond the land, to the sea: "Mental ozone" and "attic salt" remind the reader that these cultured "tillers" did not originate from the land that they now work upon, but are in fact seasoned travellers who intentionally sought out the Pasadena colony. Muir's opinions of Pasadena reveal not only that individuals contributed to the overall "character" of the land, but also its imported taste and money. Ultimately, in his use of business language like "prospect" and "resources" Muir makes it clear that Pasadena offers a wealth of opportunity for those with the prerequisite money and social standing. Despite his tempered compliments as to the cultured atmosphere of the colony, Muir believes that Pasadena, and other southern valleys, "lie beyond the reach of poor settlers". Not only that, but he also states: "this climate, fine as it is, seems, like most others, to be adapted for well people only." Muir emphasises that Pasadena is only a good prospective home for those in good physical, cultural, and financial health.

The Pasadena Promotion Board

After the boom, the Pasadena Board of Trade was formed in 1888 and was instrumental in the city's rapid development in wealth and population: by 1920 it claimed to be the richest city per capita in the country (Scheid 1986, 96). In 1905, president of the board D.W. Coolidge defined the Board of Trade as:

> …a Pasadena Promotion Board. The sole purpose…is to advertise Pasadena and to promote and encourage everything that will make our beautiful city more beautiful, more healthful morally and physically, and more and more the home of the highest type of American and foreign citizenship. We do not bid for factories but lay special stress on our superior location, climate, civic improvement, churches and schools as making the most desirable place of abode. (Scheid 1986, 96)

The unabashedly aspirational tone of this statement makes clear that the Board was self-styling Pasadena as a place for wealthy, successful migrants. The use of language like "highest", "superior", "most desirable" conveys that their sights were set on attracting wealth to the city, rather than creating wealth from the ground up in factories. It also establishes a direct link between "the highest type" of citizen, the superior quality of each its attributes (its "location, climate, civic improvement, churches and schools"), and the whole of the city. As we have seen in previous chapters, the connection is again made here between moral and physical health. This is a key component of deliberate culture, and here we see that it does not only implicate an individual's dual attention to their moral and physical health, but also to the health of the city as a site that facilitates deliberate culture.

The Board of Trade's approach to branding ensured that Pasadena stayed on its fast track to wealth. By branding Pasadena as a "beautiful" place that would only become "more beautiful", the Board of Trade sold the promise and the potential of Pasadena. This sort of boosterism was integral to the successful growth of Pasadena. If Charles Lummis was a one-man band for El Alisal, The Pasadena Board of Trade was a full blown orchestra for Pasadena. However, Lummis's promotion of life in Southern California was a passion project centred around his home environment. In contrast to this, the Pasadena Board of Trade's advertising efforts to brand Pasadena were essentially in order to sell land and property in the area.

The Board's promotional efforts were so successful in attracting more of the cultured, affluent inhabitants that the city defined itself by, that by 1906, "only 10% of the population were 'labourers and artisans.'" Pasadena was self-styled as a city designed for and made up of (in resident Charles F. Holder's words in 1908) "the cream of the culture, education and refinement of Eastern cities" (Scheid 1986, 96). Pasadena succeeded in becoming a city for lifestyle, and it was this success that quickly revealed the problem of living a lifestyle: it requires infrastructure and people to service and maintain it. This meant that promotional efforts turned to attracting the working classes, who were of course needed in order for the wealthier citizens of Pasadena to continue curating their lifestyle amidst all that the city had to offer.

The city grew to accommodate an influx of "middle-class retired people, small businessmen, and working people", and a contemporary writer observed that "there is no less charm…in viewing the miles upon miles of flower-embowered cottages or bungalows, which indicate even more plainly than anything else that while wealthy people are coming to Pasadena from all over the country, the city is still preeminently… middle-class" (Scheid 1986, 96). Pasadena's picturesque qualities included the less imposing, grand accommodations; the description of "flower-embowered" dwellings is notable because flowers were symbolically used to decorate all that Pasadena residents held dear (see Figures 27-30). The charm of Pasadena was not only reserved for the wealthy, but was, in this capacity at least, also available to working and lower middle class people.

Figure 27
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. “Mrs Best : Mrs Vandever : Miss Ellis” in *Reminders of a Sojourn in California*. Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

Figure 28
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. “Miss Weh : Mrs Pat : Grace : Miss Sterret : Miss Homet : E. H. Ruth” in *Reminders of a Sojourn in California*. Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

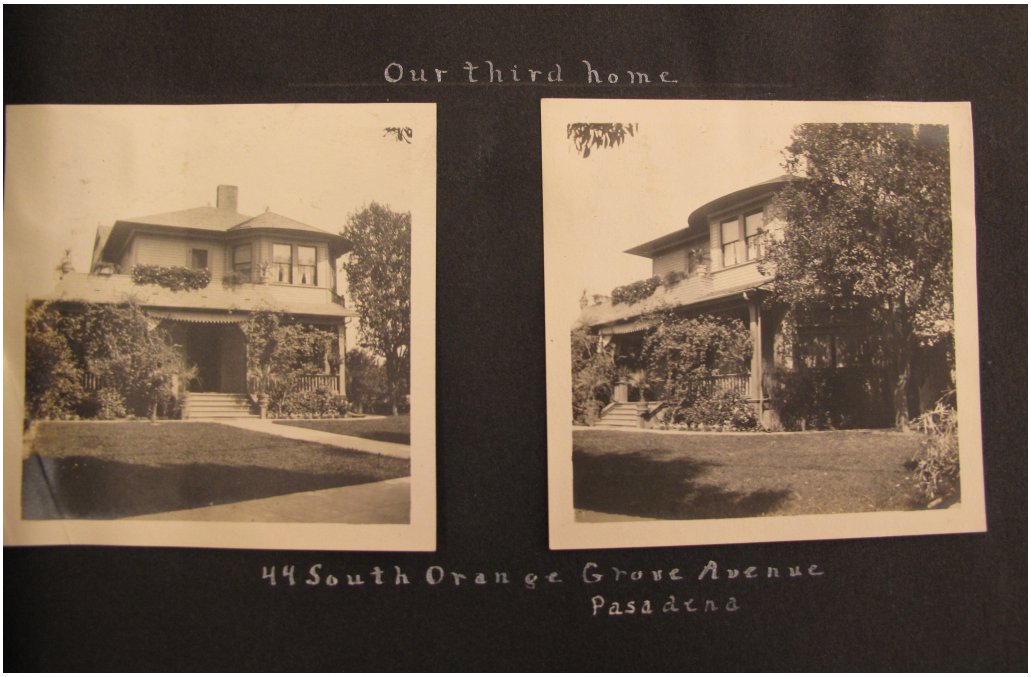


Figure 29
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. “Our third home : 44 South Orange Tree Grove Avenue : Pasadena” in *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

Figure 30
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. “Mrs. Condit, Mrs. Phillips and Vance” in *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

In a notable contemporary reflection of this, Scheid's book *Pasadena: Crown of the Valley* finishes with a section titled 'Partners in Progress', which is devoted to business, commerce, and investment in Pasadena at the time of the book's publication in 1986. This section is written by corporate historian Robert J. Kelly, whose biography describes him as the "vice-president and director of the Pasadena Chamber of Commerce", as well as "a member of the Tournament of Roses Association". It seems as though Kelly is the modern-day equivalent of D.W. Coolidge, with the link between trade and tourism as close as it was in 1888. He introduces the chapter: "To attempt to calculate the number of people who have migrated to Pasadena to live and work after viewing a beautiful, sunny New Year's Day from their snowbound homes is impossible" (Scheid 1986, 201). (New Year's Day was when The Tournament of Roses was held.) He also describes the book as an "important literary and civic project" (Scheid 1986, 201). These sentiments and the overarching idea that literature could form part of a civic duty is key to seeing why Pasadena was founded on - and continues to thrive on - individual efforts to fashion the city as a desirable destination.

The Garden on the Machine

While Pasadena was flourishing at the end of the nineteenth century, across America there was a broad sense of anxiety about the rapid rise of technology and the threat it posed to conceptions of America as a country of wild and natural beauty. Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden* (1964) explores technology and culture in America, with a focus on how technological advances intersect with and disrupt the American pastoral ideal during the nineteenth and twentieth century. Marx explored the literary trope of rapid technological development as contradictory to an mythologized bucolic

American landscape. I argue that Pasadena's annual festival The Tournament of Roses is an inversion of this concept. The Tournament of Roses entailed residents decorating their cars with flowers and driving them in a parade through the city centre. Quite literally, Pasadena residents put their gardens on their machines, and in doing so, constructed and enacted a reclamation of the American pastoral wherein their automobiles presented opportunities for them to get closer to their natural environment and experience it more fully.

Figure 31
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. Untitled. Photograph of 1909 Tournament of Roses in Reminders of a Sojourn in California. Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

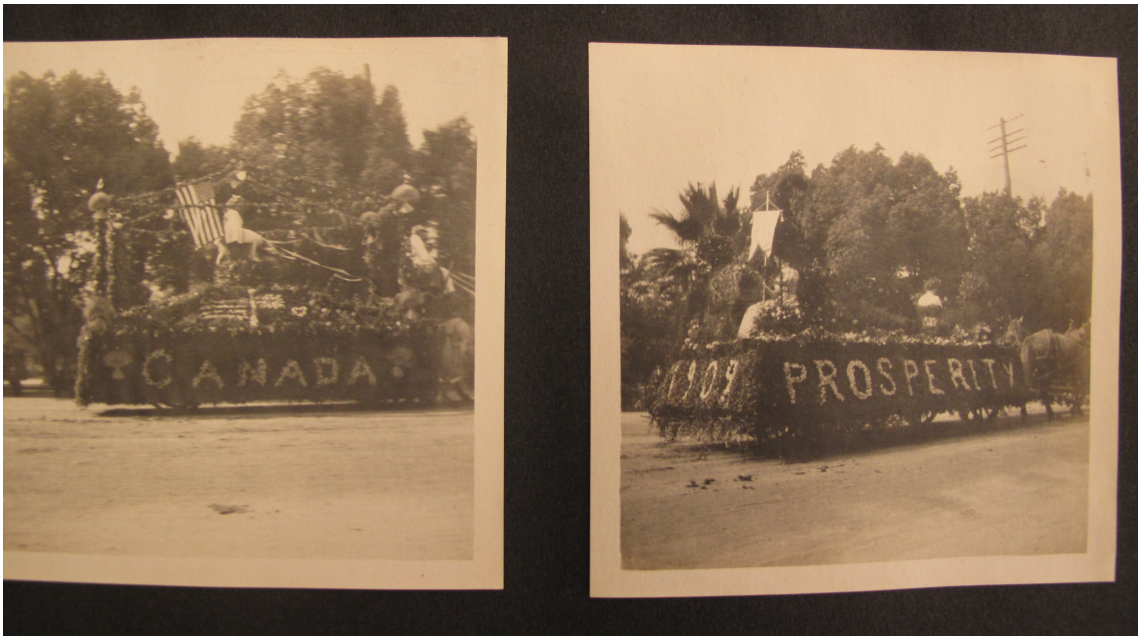


Figure 32
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. Untitled. Photograph of 1909 Tournament of Roses in Reminders of a Sojourn in California. Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

Figure 33
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. Untitled. Photograph of 1909 Tournament of Roses in Reminders of a Sojourn in California. Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

The Tournament of Roses was certainly the most performative and exuberant example of Pasadena's formative connection between wealth, health, and the cultivation of nature. Indeed, The Tournament of Roses played out within "L.A.'s climate of self-fashioning aristocracy", where "amateurs of California, in the literal sense of the word, lovers, refine the found landscape into the image of their desire." (McClung 2000, 175).

Figure 34
Photographer unknown. 1897. "The Tournament of Roses." Postcard from Frederic Hamer Maude Collection. Source: Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, accessed on 18th May 2018. https://collections.nhm.org/seaver-center/imagedisplay.php?irn=86068&reftable=ecatalogue&refirn=592673

One postcard that captures some of the flamboyance of The Tournament of Roses is shown in Figure 34, featuring three children riding in a cart bedecked with flowers and pulled by two mountain goats, whose horns are similarly decorated. The miniature,

toylike quality of the cart, children, and goats, referencing a carriage, adult riders, and horses respectively, makes clear the overt eccentricity of the performance of The Tournament of Roses.

In *Landscapes of Desire*, McClung writes of Los Angeles' dual impulses towards the Arcadian and the utopian. The cars decorated with flowers in The Tournament of Roses is perhaps the epitome of this simultaneous desire to return to an edenic garden, and also to move forwards into a utopian future. The parade is an enactment of these dual impulses, in which participants are continuously seeking out a utopian commitment to an Arcadian paradise i.e. they attempt to fashion a utopia based on Arcadia. This exertion requires constant affirmation, in a similar way to how a tourist today must take photographs in order to maintain a position both of experience and representation. In The Tournament of Roses, experience and representation unfold simultaneously; the movement of the cars through Pasadena reflects the desire to move through the landscape, and the flowers reflect the desire to become part of the landscape.

In Pasadena, the link between mobility and habitation was most fully expressed in the automobile. At one point in time Pasadena had the greatest number of cars per capita in the USA and "automobiling was a favorite pastime in Pasadena" (Scheid 1986, 116). This statistic is key to understanding how central Pasadena is to the cultural development of lifestyle. This was not due to the utility of cars or the successful lobbying by the auto industry to boost car sales, but more because the people of Pasadena saw cars as a leisure activity. This is an example of how leisure led development in early Los Angeles, just as it does today — and also foreshadows the Los Angeles car-centric cityscape of roadways. As mentioned earlier, this concept has been

elabourated upon in Lawrence Culver's *The Frontier of Leisure: South California and the Shaping of Modern America* (2010). Just as Pasadena's pretty cottages are bedecked with flowers and became a tourist attraction in their own right, the appeal of owning one's own automobile offered each resident their own version of experiencing Pasadena. Figures 35-37 depict how some Pasadena women took pride in their cars; indeed in Figure 36, it seems as though 'F. H.' nicknamed her car 'Lovey Mary' ('L. M.'). Figure 37 shows one example of a Pasadena resident's equal pride in her flowers and her car.

Figure 35
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. "F. H. and L. M. : Us and L. M." Photograph in *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

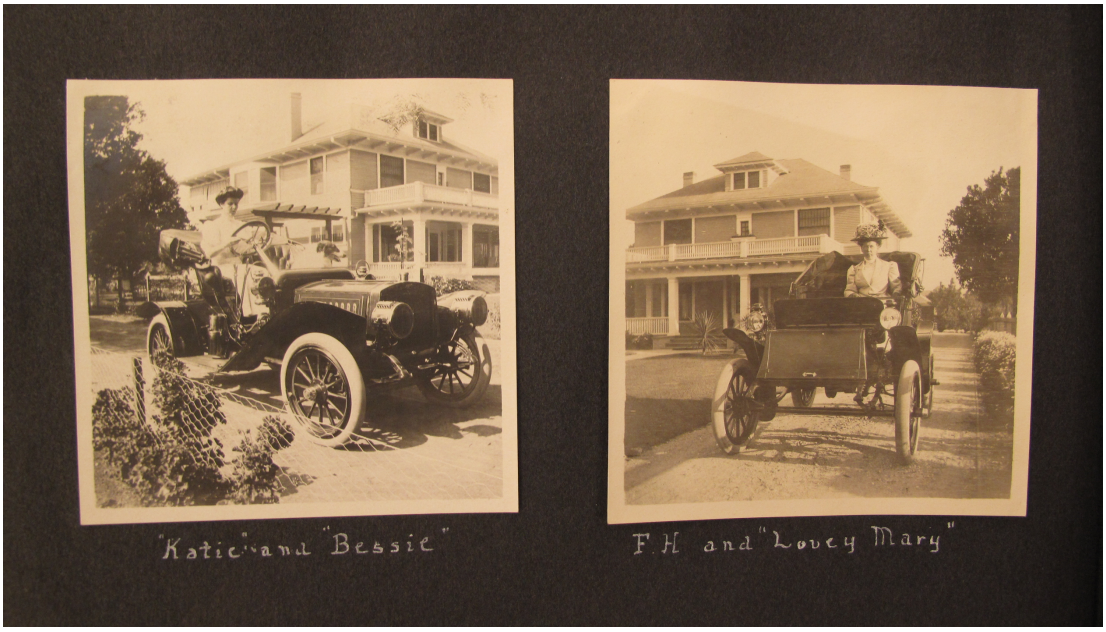


Figure 36
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. “Katie and Bessie : F. H. and Lovey Mary.” Photograph in *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

Figure 37
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. “Harriet Morris.” Photograph in *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

While automobiles were certainly popular amongst the residents of Pasadena, the Mount Lowe Electric Railway was a fashionable leisure activity that was beloved by both residents and tourists. Hiking up Mount Lowe was a popular pastime in itself, as it was not too strenuous and could be achieved while wearing fashionable clothes and stylish hats [see Figures 38, 39, 40]. The Mount Lowe Electric Railway was the brainchild of a Scottish engineer, David J. Macpherson, who enlisted a wealthy Pasadena inventor, Professor Thaddeus S. C. Lowe, to help fund the building of the railway. While Lowe lost most of his money in the railway, it became a hugely popular attraction (Scheid 1986, 84-87). George Wharton James was employed as a publicist for the Mount Lowe railway when he first arrived in Pasadena in the 1890s, and his enthusiastic boosterism of Pasadena is likely to have contributed to the mountains being branded the 'Alps of America'. The railway offered an opportunity for visitors to see and experience Pasadena in an innovative new way. Figure 38 includes a notable juxtaposition between a Mount Lowe visitor and the apparent proof that she (and the photographer) went up "the incline". Striding up Mount Low in Figure 39, a woman can be seen holding a picnic hamper for their subsequent picnic lunch at the summit. Furthermore, in Figure 40 the women's hats are bedecked with flowers, depicting their mutual interest in moving through nature while also wearing it.

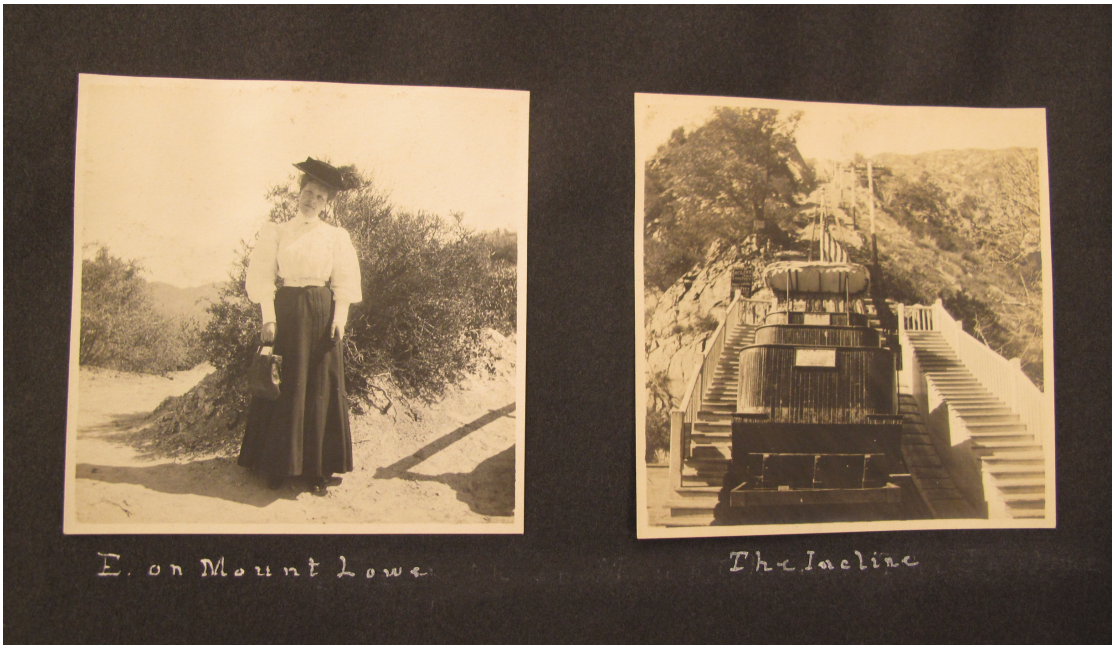


Figure 38
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. “E on Mount Lowe : The Incline.” Photograph in *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

Figure 39
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. “On Mount Lowe.” Photograph in *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of a woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

Figure 40
Photographer unknown. 1908-1909. "On Mount Lowe." Photograph in *Reminders of a Sojourn in California.* Bound album of 204 snapshot photographs documenting tourist activities of woman and her friends in California at the beginning of the twentieth century. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

"Bustle and business and building": the Creation of Pasadena in the Diary of Amy Bridges

Thanks in part to such appealing tourist attractions as the Mount Lowe railway, the tourism industry in Pasadena was booming. Just as residents took photographs of themselves with their cars, many visitors were compelled to take photographs of their travels in Pasadena. The touristic impulse to write about Pasadena was a particularly personal way for visitors to continue their subjective interactions with the area. Amy Bridges was one such traveller, who wrote extensively about her trip to Pasadena in her journal titled "Raymond Excursion from Massachusetts to California and Return", which included a three month stay at the Raymond Hotel in South Pasadena between December 1886 and February 1887 (Huntingdon Library Archive Collection). In the

following section I will quote from Bridges' diary, the pages of which are unnumbered. While Bridges describes some of the people she meets in Pasadena, she focuses most of her writing on her impressions of Pasadena as a town and its surrounding countryside. These impressions are illuminating in tracking how the emergence of deliberate culture was borne out of individual perspectives that were fashioned during the early days of Pasadena. Reading Bridges's diary is like taking a walk with her through the shady streets of Pasadena. Bridges describes the burgeoning layout of Pasadena in great detail, laying out the street names:

> Marengo Ave. parallel to Fair Oaks on the right from Raymond Hill is a beautiful street: it is shaded with pepper trees where graceful dropping branches almost touch the ground. And you look down it through an arch of green. There are pretty little homes on either side, all the way with their lovely flowers, orange groves and green hedges. Above the trees one sees the grand Sierra Madre mountains. There is a pretty new Methodist church on the corner of Colorado St and Marengo Ave… (Bridges's diary 1886-1887)

The use of the second person pronoun "you" here enables Bridges to bring the reader into her lived experience. The impression is that the reader sees what Bridges sees. However, it is likely that Bridges wrote these diary entries while back in her hotel room, and was therefore recalling from memory the town's layout. The reader therefore 'sees' what Bridges recreates in her memory. Bridges's remembered map of Pasadena is a reflection of her attempts to construct an idiosyncratic perspective of the town, and in doing so, tying her experience of it to the tangible geography of the area. This process of weaving one's subjective experience into an objective landscape is a fundamental part of deliberate culture.

The scale of Pasadena is measured and made manageable in Bridges's eyes.

Bridges refers to “little stores” and “little homes” as well as “an immense sign” and “a giant broad sign”. These descriptions of scale are relative to Bridges, reminding the reader that Bridges was physically present amongst the buildings of Pasadena, and that all of her impressions are mediated and measured by her own presence. In this way, Bridges conjures her vision of Pasadena into being. She guides the reader as though they are with her in person at that particular point in time through the use of the present tense, her use of demonstrative adverbs like “here”, and her use of the first person plural “us”: “Here a little building like a R. R. car is perched upon staked by the side of the street while an immense sign informs the public that this is the ‘Palace car Real-Estate office’. A broad open lot in the middle of the town is used for the Gen. …Madre Opera House, a giant broad sign tells us.” (Bridges 1886-1887). This passage is particularly illuminating of the rapid change happening in Pasadena. An “R. R. car” was shorthand for a railroad car, and Palace Pullman cars were luxury train cars. When the boom happened, luxury railroad cars could take people from the east coast all the way to Pasadena. That the real estate office in Pasadena is a repurposed luxury railroad car speaks to the speed with which the boom happened, and also to the degree to which luxury tourism and ideal homes were coupled together deliberately and inextricably. The railroad car was literally a vehicle for turning tourists into residents. Through such reinvention, Pasadena converted mobility into land speculation, and thus performed its own becoming.

Bridges’s specificity of listing and quoting place names acts as a kind of proof that she was present there, and her act of noting such information down reminds the reader that Bridges is acting as a tourist who desires to prove their personal experiences: “built up, many of them in the rushed hasty manner and from the size of us - a big box

upwards. Imagine one of these big boxes painted bright blue and bearing the imposing sign 'Boston Stone'…New York restaurant". Here Bridges directly compares "the size of us" with the buildings, explicitly making the reader part of her performed environment. The description of the buildings as "boxes" evokes the impression of Pasadena as a sort of toy town, miniature even in its "big" buildings. On the whole, Bridges describes the stores of Pasadena with particular emphasis on their smallness: "The little stores open right from the sidewalk". She goes into detail about this: "The little stores are full of goods of all sorts variety and quality and seems to do a thriving business - such queer little stores", as well as attention to finer details such as "neat fonts and gilded frames…all on small scale". The impression is one of pronounced quaintness.

This impression is extended to the houses: "As for the homes of Pasadena, they are charming to me. They are low and small, but they usually have piazzas and are surrounded by flowers. Some houses are very fine and picturesque and have beautiful grounds about them. There are some lovely cottages" (Bridges, 1886-1887). Here we see Bridges again admiring how the buildings of Pasadena are more appealing when they are overlaid and surrounded with their natural environment. Bridges suggests Pasadena is at its most beautiful when this interlinking is most complete: it is the "flowers" and "beautiful grounds" that make even the "low and small" houses "lovely". Furthermore, this interlinking is most successful when it is at its most performative. By cultivating the flowers and gardens, the houses and buildings of Pasadena were also cultivated. This inter-folding extended to the citizens of Pasadena as well, who were made more cultivated by living within and through such an environment. In

emphasising this relationship between the houses and the plants, Bridges extends this to her own place within the landscape of Pasadena.

The town was created and developed in the spirit of this inter-folded self-fashioning: “The town makes me think of a bee hive. It is all bustle and business and building. Such an enterprising stirring place it is. One can see it grow daily- it seems bound to be a city- and even now assumes the dignity of a city, as the children love to play ‘grown up’. That is what amuses me most” (Bridges, 1886-1887). This passage offers a useful overview of Bridges’s experience of Pasadena. Bridges’s use of scale played out on a metaphysical level: from “beehive” to “city” via the children playing “grown up” (perhaps Bridges saw children similar to those dressed up in the miniature cart for The Tournament of Roses). In describing imaginative play, Bridges points out the essential performativity of place-making. She acknowledges and traverses the gap between child’s play and the “dignity of a city”, and here Bridges takes the view of an outsider observing; her ability to “see it grow daily” gives her an overarching perspective of the town, scaling it down to the extent that she is amused by it. Bridges’s extensive descriptions of the town reflect an overarching conceit that her personal map-making of Pasadena’s development will encourage its ambitious growth.

Throughout her stay in Pasadena, Bridges returns again and again to descriptions of the sidewalks, which are by turns narrow and dusty, then after the rains, muddy and covered with wooden boards, and finally replaced with “broad cement” sidewalks. The sidewalks are an obvious point of interest for Bridges, as it is from the sidewalks that she experiences the town, and it is on the sidewalks where she has physical reactions to what it brings. When Bridges is newly arrived in Pasadena she describes them thus, “The narrow dirty wooden sidewalks are crowded with all sorts of foreign looking men

and children." And later in her diary, Bridges remarks, "Before we left they had begun to lay a broad cement walk on either side of Fair Oaks Avenue and had finished it for some distance walking the beautiful walk" (Bridges 1886-1887). The transformation of the sidewalks, before Bridges's eyes, seems to extend to the whole of Pasadena: the town exists more fully when Bridges can experience it more easily.

Bridges writes her diaries in such vivid detail not just to remember her experiences and impressions of Pasadena, but also to document them for posterity. More than this, Bridges's attention to her own subjective experiences suggests she is also intending to construct and tell a story about Pasadena and more importantly, tell a story about herself in Pasadena. Throughout her diaries, Bridges's impressions and opinions develop and build alongside the development of Pasadena. Like any unreliable narrator, Bridges writes into her diaries an edited version of herself. She fashions herself as a seasoned traveller; a devout, observant, and honest tourist who is made more devout through her travels: "at the Raymond […] God seemed to speak everywhere from the beauty and grandeur around us". She ties herself so tightly into her subjective narration that when she talks up Pasadena and her high hopes for it as a town, she also manages to discreetly talk up herself.

Despite Bridges's overwhelmingly positive reviews of Pasadena, she is critical of some aspects of the town, in particular the "foreign-looking" Mexican inhabitants. However, it becomes clear that even these criticisms are coached in the terms of a new and rapidly growing town, and are in fact used to further compliment the town: "it is all a new place of hardly more than five years growth and it is wonderful to see how fast it has grown. Little by little the cheap temporary buildings will be done away with. In

another four years I may not know this place. From years ago I can remember it only as a few car tracks and a few scattering of houses" (Bridges 1886-1887).

Bridges sees Pasadena as exceptional. In Richard Rorty's *Achieving our Country* (1988) he writes of Whitman's desire for American exceptionalism to become such that each American sees one another as exceptional (Rorty 1988, 16). The promise and potential of becoming 'exceptional' - and accepting the conceit that everyone can be exceptional - is an alluring one, even more so because one can perform this aspiration into being. This aspiration to be exceptional is a central feature of deliberate culture. Pasadena's rapid growth and the contemporary attention that was paid to it as it grew makes it a unique site of deliberate culture that was performed simultaneously through experience and documentation. In this way Pasadena was both the subject and the object of its own making, and its inhabitants and visitors continuously moved between these perspectives.

Rough Country as Scenery in the Diary of Carrie Call

Figure 41
Carrie Call. 1886. "Trip from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles." Photograph of leather-bound diary. From site visit to The Huntington on 19th March 2012.

Figure 42
Carrie Call. 1886. "Trip from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles." Photograph of diary page. From site visit to The Huntington on 19th March 2012.

While Amy Bridges's diary offers a detailed look at the growth of Pasadena, it is also necessary for us to approach Pasadena from afar, in order to place it in its context and fully understand how it facilitated deliberate culture, and thrived because of it. For many of the people who travelled to Pasadena in this period, the trip across the country was often an act of nostalgia; of performing the recent past. Carrie Call's diary is a useful depiction of this process. In this section of Chapter 4, all quotations will be from

Call's diary, which does not have page numbers. Carrie Call kept a diary of her family's journey from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles between 24th October and 25th December 1886, which she addressed to her sister "Kate". The attention to detail that Call pays to her experience of the journey reflects how important the journey was as part of their holiday; in fact the trip was perhaps more about the journey than it was the destination. This was after the railroad to Pasadena had been completed, and most people who could afford the train would certainly have taken it. However, while Call's family could afford the train, they decided to take a covered wagon. For most of the nineteenth century, wagons were the only way to travel cross-country but the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869 meant that the train quickly replaced wagons as the primary mode of transport for most travellers with the money to pay for it. This means that, while Call and her family would certainly have been aware of this cultural transition from wagon to train, their decision to take the wagon was a deliberate attempt to live the simple life. It is clear that this decision turns the trip from a means to an end into an experience in itself. Although the wagon journey is certainly a deliberate activity for Call and her family, it is only possible because there is an end-point: their destination is suitably far enough away, with enough wild terrain in between, for it to create the possibility for such a performatively rustic journey experience. The crucial aspect of Los Angeles as their destination makes the journey its own complete activity.

Call's diary is notable for her consistent switching between complaints about the hardship that she experiences while travelling by wagon, and her affirmations of her love of camping. Towards the end of the trip, Call reflects: "I think this has been a rather dear pleasure trip. It has cost just as much as it would have done on the cars and our pleasure has not been unalloyed, but we do not regret our trip for I always enjoyed

camping." Clearly the trip was not all "pleasure", but even Call's description of the overall experience as a "pleasure trip" reinforces that it was their choice to travel by covered wagon rather than "on the cars" (i.e. the train). While Call professes to be a seasoned traveller, and indeed an experienced camper, she recounts multiple instances of mistakes. Not least of these is her admission that at one point they lost their horses ("we discovered that the nags were nowhere to be seen") and on another day they "broke the tent pole": "Sunday - we had a time of it last night. We could not put up the tent last night because we broke the tent pole yesterday, so J.P. and I had to make our bed on the ground. It rained part of the night - and I thought the wind would surely blow us away."

Despite her insistence on her enjoyment of camping, a large proportion of Call's diary is taken up with humorous renditions of the calamities that befall their travelling party. Call uses dramatic descriptions to create a vivid picture of how exposed to the elements they were. Following her account of their night without a tent, Call declares: "Not any more desert for me thank you. I found an Indian arrow. I will keep it to remind me of the pleasant night we spent on the desert." Call's sarcastic use of the word "pleasant" evokes holidays and journeys that actually are sincerely pleasant. Call repeatedly reiterates her experience of how harsh the landscape is: "it is such a very rough country." The roughness of the environment becomes a marker of her experience of it. While describing how she hopes for the trip to be over, she also reminds her reader how arduous the entire journey has proved: "We are anxious to get to St George. Then we will be nearly half way. But I expect the other half will be much rougher than this."

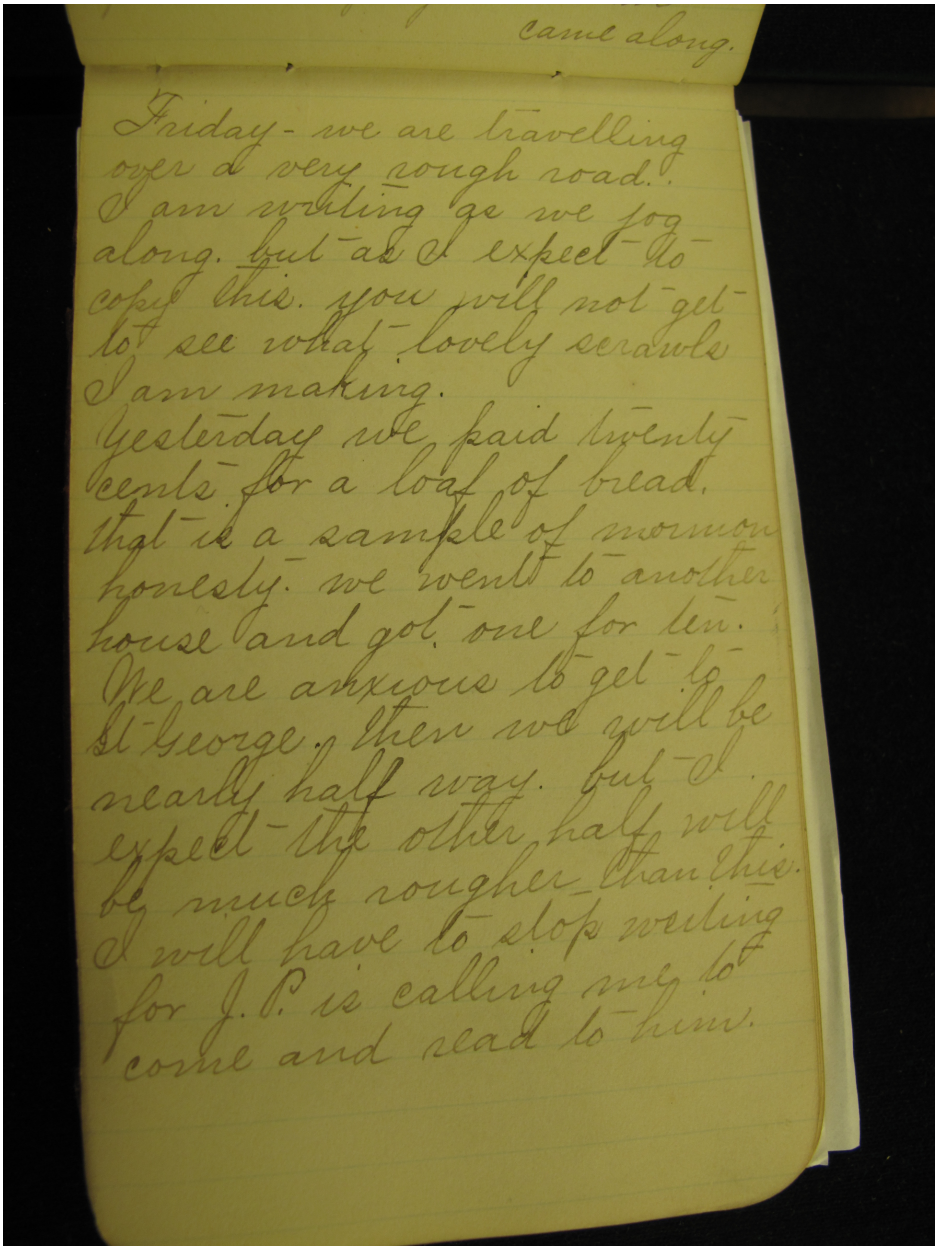


Figure 43
Carrie Call. 1886. "Trip from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles." Photograph of diary page. From site visit to The Huntington on 19th March 2012.

Both in form and content, Call's writing is influenced by the roads they are travelling on: "Friday - we are travelling over a very rough road. I am writing as we go along. but as I expect to copy this, you will not get to see what lovely scrawls I am making" (See Figure 43). Her act of writing is repeatedly referred to, and this self-referential style suggests that she is writing the diary in order to more fully experience

the trip. We can see from the page that this quote is taken from that she did indeed copy it out, presumably once they were on less rocky terrain. She connects her scrawling handwriting to the broader physical experience of being jolted "to pieces", and connects this to the entire duration of the journey, not just the stretch she has just endured: "We came over a dreadfully rough road last night. I thought it would surely jolt us to pieces. Jimmie just asked the man at the stable if the road going south was anything like the one we have just come over. He said, 'no nothing like it, it is a great deal worse'." In this way Call draws together her dedication to the act of writing and her commitment to the whole experience of the trip.

The fact that Call and her family chose to go by the then-outdated wagon rather than by train means that it would have been a great deal quieter on their route than it would have been even just ten or twenty years previously: "Wednesday we resumed our journey. The people at the ranch seemed sorry to see us go. It is so seldom they see anyone." Call and her family go out of their way for their quaint wagon journey, and in doing so, create an experience of the trip that would have been more akin to the very early Western travellers before the West became more populated: "At ten o'clock as Jimmie was preparing to retire (I was already snoozing) a man rode in upon us. It frightened me for I did not know there was a human being in the country except ourselves, there was so much grass that we did not hear his horse at all so he took us completely by surprise."

Call uses humour as a coping mechanism when the environment is particularly gruelling. She also describes how her family members do the same: after describing how "frightened" she was by this unexpected man approaching their camp, she recounts: "He wanted to know where he was, Jimmie told him to ask him something

easy". She reverts to sarcasm in order to emphasise how long and repetitive the journey is: "We are still crossing the Virgin River. I had no idea we would cross it so many times." Call emphasises the geographic length of the trip by referring to how long they have travelled in terms of time, at one point stretching out the length they have gone so far by exaggerating it to the distance to China: "We are not far from the California line. I expect we will get so accustomed to travelling that we will not stop when we get to the coast, but will go right on to China." This exaggeration reveals Call's pride in how long and arduous their journey has been. She continues, "Tomorrow we start on the fatal desert and I must say that I dread it. It is fifty five miles long. We will be two days crossing it." The use of dramatic language like "fatal" conveys Call's morbid satisfaction in the perceived dangers and wildness of the landscapes they travel through. To take two days to travel fifty-five miles indicates what slow progress the wagon offered. No doubt Call wrote this knowing that the train would have been a far quicker mode of transport, and one that would have made the desert far less "fatal".

Call's diary is interspersed with references to the difficulty of the journey. She refers to that fact that there were multiple routes to their destination and that none of them were particularly appealing: "There is another way we might have gone but a man advised us to go through Ivanpah, he said no matter which way we went we would wish we had gone the other." Even while Call and her family were acting out their decision to go by wagon, part of this decision was to give themselves over to the landscape even when - and in fact perhaps because - the landscape they entered demanded a particular style of living. The inevitable hardship that they experienced on the journey only served to reinforce the deliberate choice they made to embark upon it in the first place.

This is also conveyed in Call's preoccupation with cleanliness. The cleanliness (or lack thereof) of their natural surroundings comes to the fore when it comes to meal times: "When we arrived last night we thought we would cook in a camp house rather than eat sand. But I don't think we will do it again for I could not eat a bite of supper thinking it could not be clean." Again we see the perceived lack of choice that Call felt she was presented with on the journey; eating sand out in the open desert, or unclean food in the camp house. Her reflection that "I don't think we will do it again" implies that next time they will choose to "eat sand". In this way, Call reminds her reader of her choices throughout the journey, no matter how disappointing her options are. Even her attitude to potatoes has been changed by their journey: "J.P. wishes me to say that when we started out this journey I always washed the potatoes both before and after peeling them, and now I am very glad to get them without their being washed at all, and it is really true, for I had a night of it last night."

Call dramatises her experiences in order to construct a narrative of her own experience. In addressing her reader (her sister) - "I assure you" - she establishes herself in a position of reporting from the field. Her subjective perspective "I" is balanced by her perceived reader "you". In setting up such a vivid link between herself and her sister, as though her sister could almost see through Call's own eyes, Call gives her voice more authority. Much of her attention is paid to the act of looking. At a rest stop, Call describes the bath house: "I wish you could see the bath house here… I think it is an excellent arrangement". Elsewhere, Call conveys the visceral experience of the trip: "We can see the earth quake beneath the horses' feet" and in doing so, places herself as an observer within the frame of activity. This is also enacted when Call describes the weather, which is a recurring feature of the diary: "Saturday morn. It was so cold this

morning when we rose that we decided to start early…I sat with the driver with a heavy ulster and shawl on, a blanket over my head and a quilt over my lap and then I nearly froze. There was such a cold wind blowing." Call's list of warm clothing and the repetition of "and" build up to her punchline "and then I nearly froze", creating a feeling of being physically laden down by the weather and its consequences.

Call applies this attention to detail to all aspects of her trip. In a similar practice to Amy Bridges's observations of the dwellings in Pasadena, Call often attempts to describe in detail the buildings that she sees: "Three miles from the ranch is the Las Vegas spring that is their water supply. We all got out and went to look at it. And it is a sight worth looking at I assure you. It is about ten feet across the spring and I don't know how many feet deep. And you can see the water boiling up out of the ground."

While Bridges may have described her experience of Pasadena in such detail in part because she saw it changing so rapidly, and therefore wanted to capture a moment in its history, Call's descriptions of her journey are perhaps more related to the remoteness of the buildings and her relatively solitary experience of them: "This is such a pretty place but so solitary. There is no one to enjoy its beauty". Call seems to view her documentation of the places they travel through as a personal responsibility to the landscape. The act of bearing witness to her own experience, whether enjoyment or discomfort, is established as a method of experiencing it a second time. For Call, narration, documentation, and dramatisation become modes of experience in themselves.

Call's attention to detail, both in what she sees and what she experiences, suggest that the diary was an important artefact for her. Through writing the diary in the way she does, Call bears witness to her own experiences. Even happenstance

occurrences become meaningful, intentional events through her deliberate observations and documentations. Call's diary is a document of her dual acts of looking and experiencing, but more than that, it is a performance of documentation; Call signs off the diary by addressing her sister, "I expect you will be as tired when you have read it through as if you had taken the trip yourself— with a warning to you never to come this way if you value your life". Overall, Call's repeated affirmations that the trip was simultaneously pleasant and unpleasant amount to a useful depiction of the various dualities involved in deliberate culture. Call's diary points out that even when the scenery is pleasant, the experience of looking at it might not be: "The scenery was grand but I had more of it than I wanted". The necessary exposure to the elements is what makes her journey one of constant self-assertion, self-measurement, and performative narration. Her closing remarks [Figure 44] are perhaps most succinct in this regard: "We are not sorry that our journey is at an end although we have enjoyed it very much" (Call 1886).

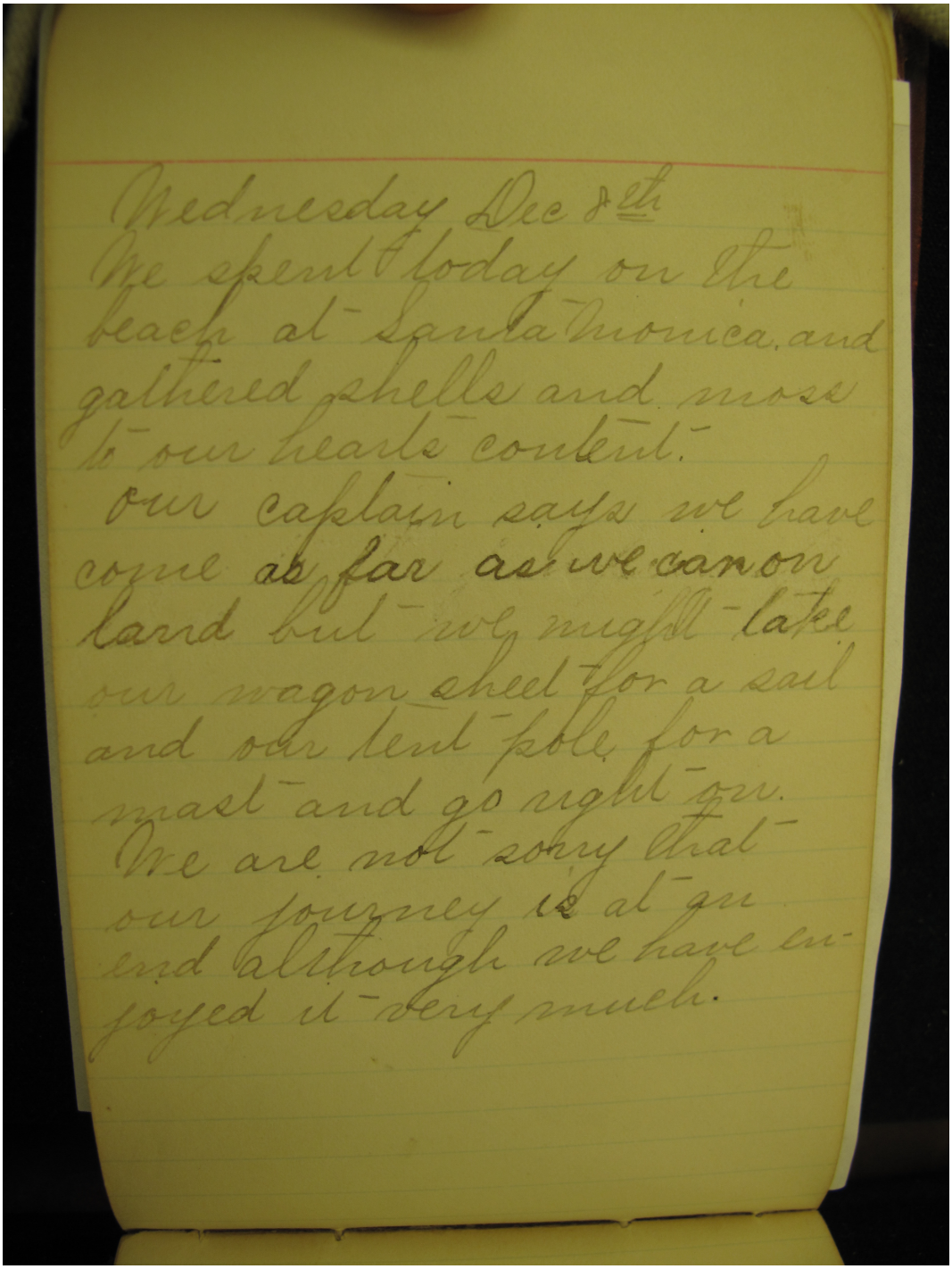


Figure 44
Carrie Call. 1886. “Trip from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles.” Photograph of diary page. From site visit to The Huntington on 19th March 2012.

Californian Climate and Culture according to George Wharton James

So far in this chapter I have demonstrated how individual experiences of Pasadena both contributed to, and were shaped by, the rapid growth in the region. I will now explore more closely the ways in which this interplay was recognised and enacted in Pasadena during the period 1880-1915. In Chapter 1, I looked at William James's assertion that self-realisation was a patriotic responsibility. I will now consider how this assertion was played out through the work of George Wharton James, for whom the making of the self equalled the making of the place. G.W. James was a contemporary and rival of Charles Lummis. He was born in Lincolnshire, UK and emigrated to the United States with his family when he was two years old. One of G.W. James's best known works was an article titled 'The Influence of the Climate of California upon its Literature'. Originally published in *National Magazine* in April 1912, it was republished in 1922 and was later included in a scrapbook made by James's estate. This scrapbook contains a wide range of James's documents and photographs and now forms part of the Huntingdon Library archives. The indexicality of the collection can be seen as indicative of his role in shaping and narrativising the region. This article is particularly useful as it offers a lens through which to better understand the growth of Pasadena in the period 1880-1915. James took it upon himself to re-publish this article in 1922 (see Figure 46), and it is clear from the opening paragraph that he intended it to be read as a history of the newly established region; James asserts that through literature, "we are enabled to comprehend all that is meant by the 'history' of a people, its 'civilization', its real life" (James 1922).

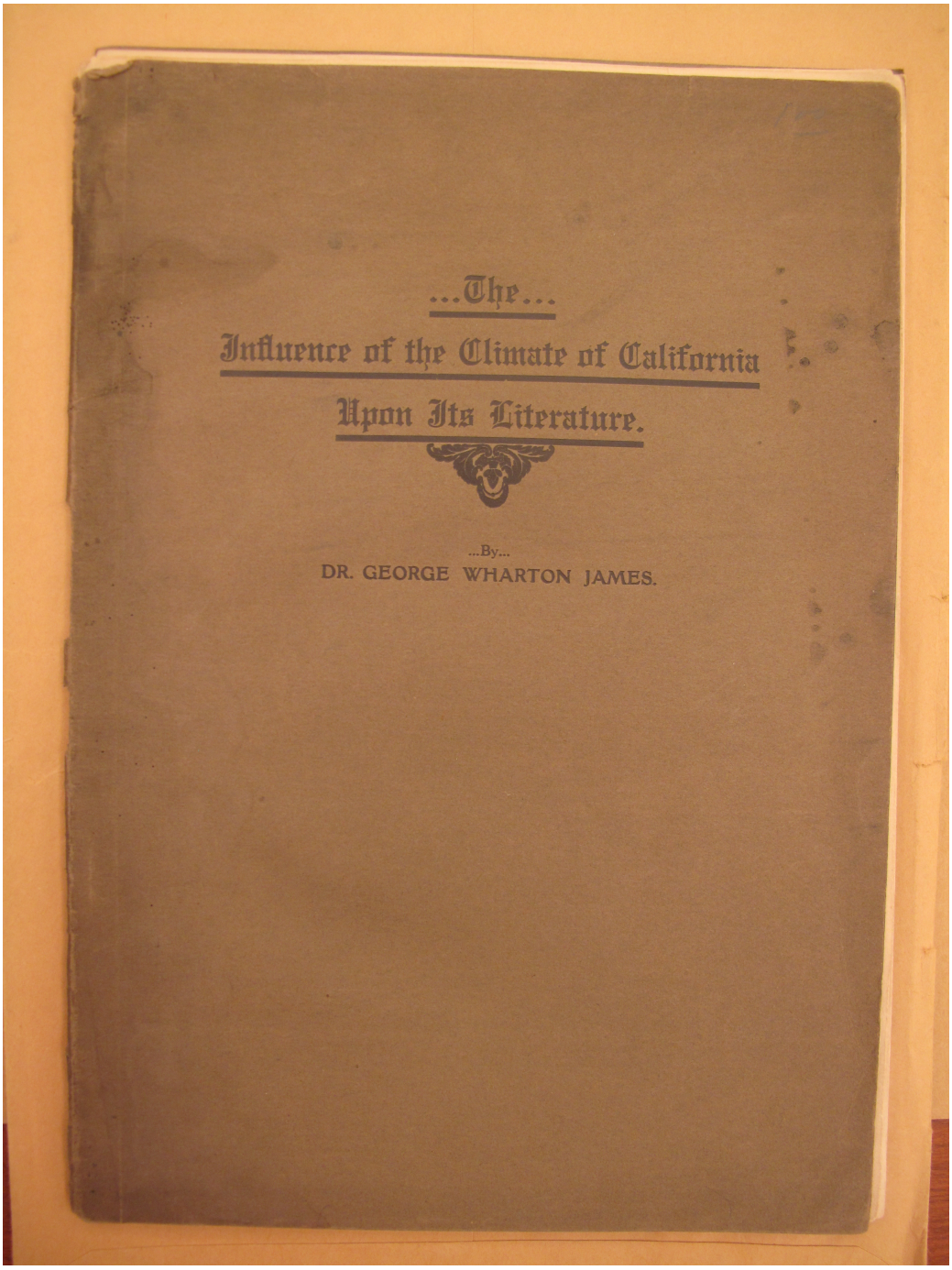


Figure 45
George Wharton James. 1922. "The Influence of the Climate of California upon its Literature." [Originally published in *National Magazine*, April 1912.] In *Collection of pamphlets, scrapbooks and periodical articles*. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

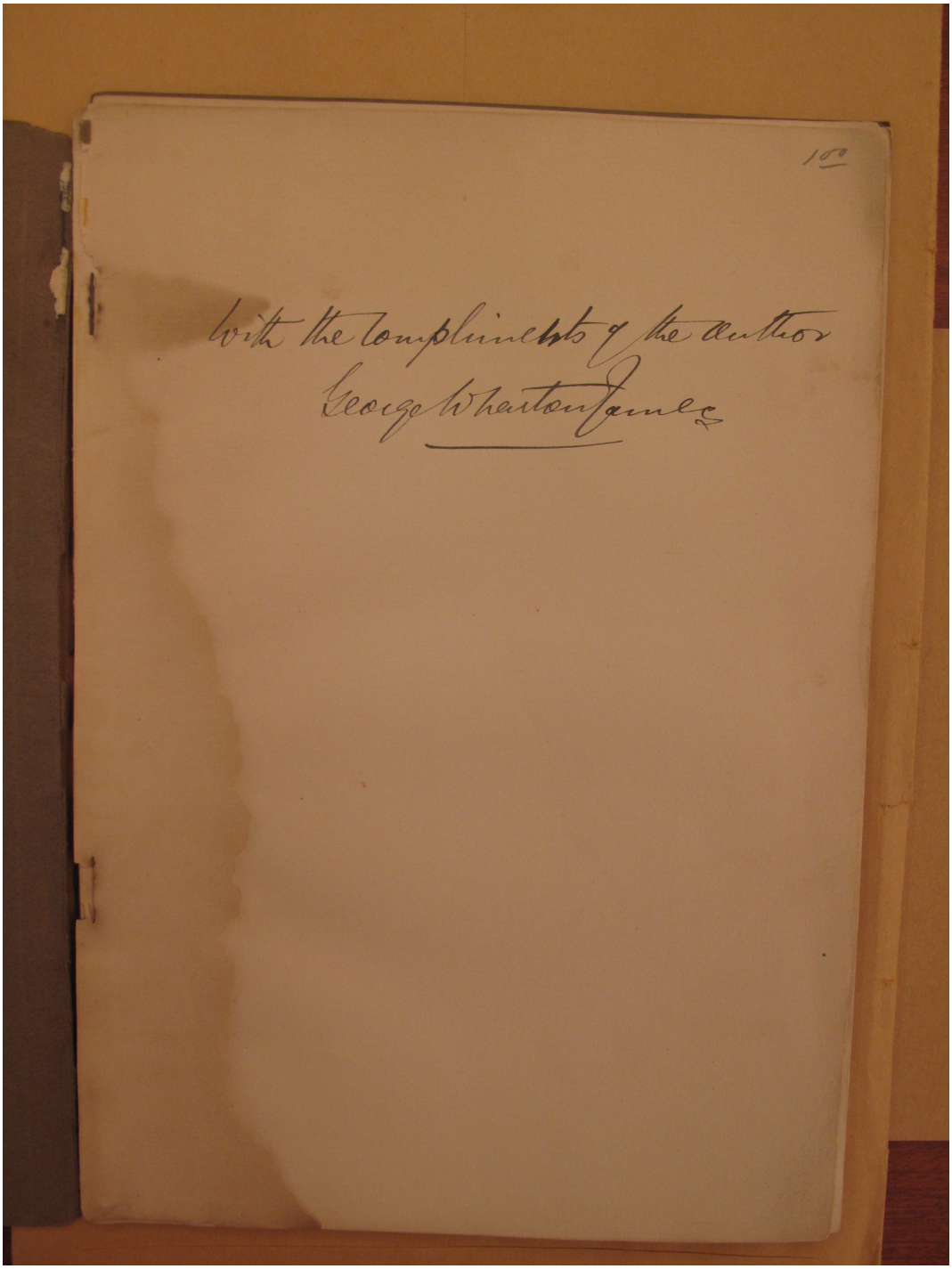
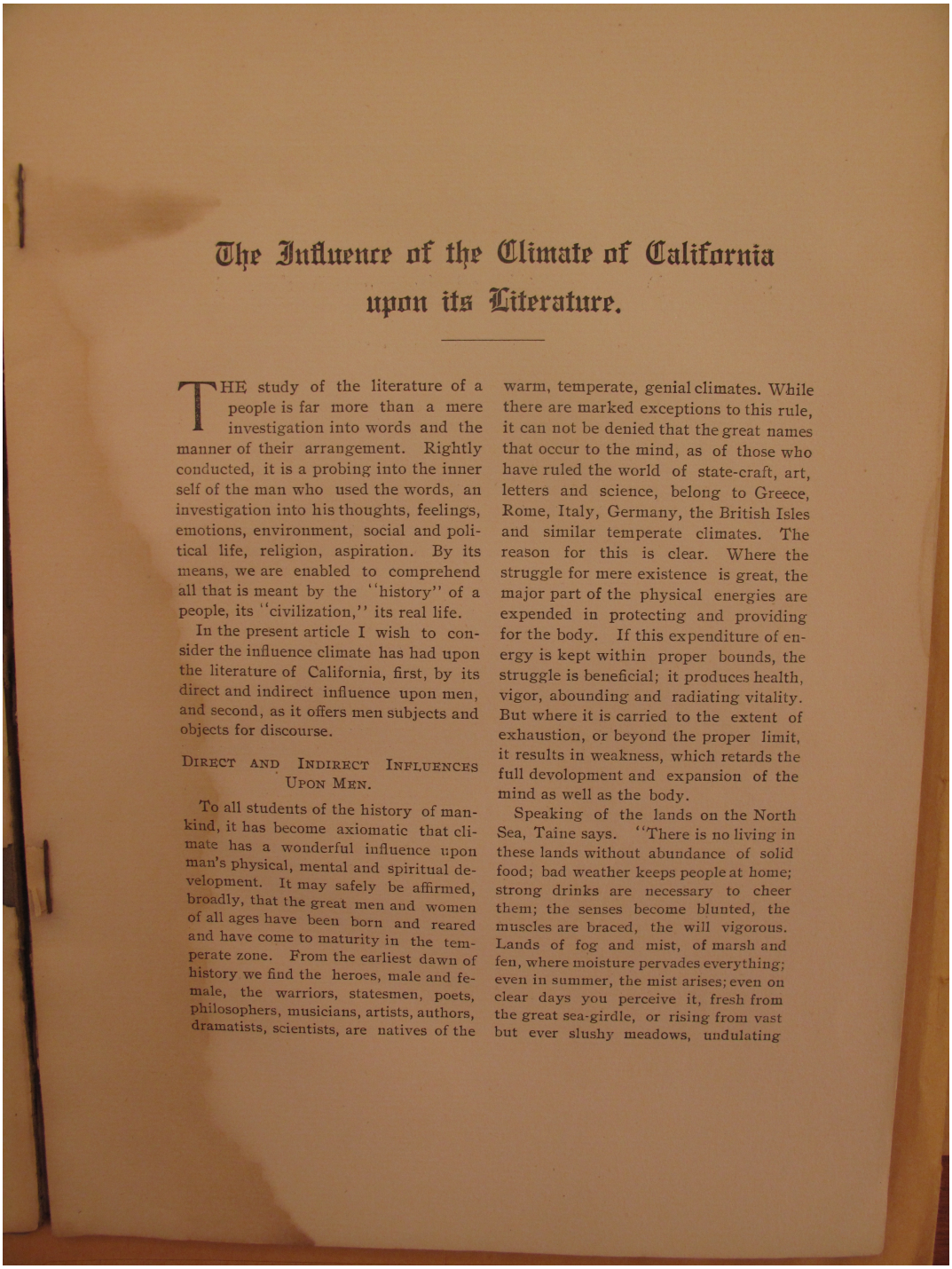


Figure 46
George Wharton James. 1922. “The Influence of the Climate of California upon its Literature.” [Originally published in *National Magazine*, April 1912.] In *Collection of pamphlets, scrapbooks and periodical articles*. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.



The Influence of the Climate of California upon its Literature.

THE study of the literature of a people is far more than a mere investigation into words and the manner of their arrangement. Rightly conducted, it is a probing into the inner self of the man who used the words, an investigation into his thoughts, feelings, emotions, environment, social and political life, religion, aspiration. By its means, we are enabled to comprehend all that is meant by the "history" of a people, its "civilization," its real life.

In the present article I wish to consider the influence climate has had upon the literature of California, first, by its direct and indirect influence upon men, and second, as it offers men subjects and objects for discourse.

Direct and Indirect Influences Upon Men.

To all students of the history of mankind, it has become axiomatic that climate has a wonderful influence upon man's physical, mental and spiritual development. It may safely be affirmed, broadly, that the great men and women of all ages have been born and reared and have come to maturity in the temperate zone. From the earliest dawn of history we find the heroes, male and female, the warriors, statesmen, poets, philosophers, musicians, artists, authors, dramatists, scientists, are natives of the warm, temperate, genial climates. While there are marked exceptions to this rule, it can not be denied that the great names that occur to the mind, as of those who have ruled the world of state-craft, art, letters and science, belong to Greece, Rome, Italy, Germany, the British Isles and similar temperate climates. The reason for this is clear. Where the struggle for mere existence is great, the major part of the physical energies are expended in protecting and providing for the body. If this expenditure of energy is kept within proper bounds, the struggle is beneficial; it produces health, vigor, abounding and radiating vitality. But where it is carried to the extent of exhaustion, or beyond the proper limit, it results in weakness, which retards the full devolopment and expansion of the mind as well as the body.

Speaking of the lands on the North Sea, Taine says. "There is no living in these lands without abundance of solid food; bad weather keeps people at home; strong drinks are necessary to cheer them; the senses become blunted, the muscles are braced, the will vigorous. Lands of fog and mist, of marsh and fen, where moisture pervades everything; even in summer, the mist arises; even on clear days you perceive it, fresh from the great sea-girdle, or rising from vast but ever slushy meadows, undulating

Figure 47
George Wharton James. 1922. "The Influence of the Climate of California upon its Literature." [Originally published in *National Magazine*, April 1912.] In *Collection of pamphlets, scrapbooks and periodical articles*. From site visit to The Huntington on 30th August 2012.

James personified the American Arts and Crafts movement in the context of lifestyle. James's work spanned literary activities including articles, pamphlets, and books, as well as lectures, tours of the local area, and photography that covered a broad range of topics from date culture, to local crafts, to emerging health trends. In this way, James aspired to create a complete picture of California, with his own experience embedded throughout it. James styled himself as a craftsman whose interests were diverse but always borne out of his environment; he references the "influence climate has had upon the literature of California, first its direct and indirect influence upon men, and second, as it offers men subjects and objects for discourse" (James 1922). This statement speaks volumes about James's engagement with California; not only was his literature formally shaped by the qualities of California, but it also provided ample content for his various discourses. It seems as though the more James created work that responded to California, the more subject matter appeared around him.

He asserts that "it has become axiomatic that climate has a wonderful influence upon man's physical, mental and spiritual development." He even goes so far as to claim that:

> It may be safely affirmed, broadly, that the great men and women of all ages have been born and reared and have come to maturity in the temperate zone. From the earliest dawn of history we find the heroes, male and female, the warriors, statesmen, poets, philosophers, musicians, artists, authors, dramatists, scientists, are natives of the warm, temperate, genial climates. (James, 1922)

Through expansive lists like this, James fashioned himself as the preeminent renaissance man of California. Even though he wasn't born in California, nor anywhere in the United States, his emphasis that "the great men…of all ages have been born…in the temperate zone" i.e. California, makes it clear that he sees himself amongst these

"great men". The connection between self-fashioning and place-making is again repeated: "In such an environment, with such a climatic mother, men and women of happy, buoyant natures should be born and nurtured" (James 1922). This interlinking of the self and the place is a key part of why lifestyle manifested in California in its most evident and iconic form.

In these lists, James homes in on the wider myth at the time, which is explored by Leo Marx in *The Machine in the Garden*; that people could:

> experience a Regeneration in the New World. They become new, better, happier men - they are reborn. In most versions [of the myth] the regenerative power is located in the natural terrain: access to undefiled, bountiful, sublime Nature is what accounts for the virtue and special good fortune of Americans. It enables them to design a community in the image of a garden, an ideal fusion of nature with art. The landscape thus becomes the symbolic repository of value of all kinds - economic, political, aesthetic, religious. (Marx 2000, 228)

It is obvious from James's glowing descriptions of California that he believes Pasadena, and by extension the whole of California, to be in Marx's words, a "community in the image of a garden". With his enthusiastic attention to broad ranging activities and intellectual pursuits, James personified what Marx is describing in the landscape of California. The sense of a complete, whole repository that contains all kinds of wealth can be traced to James's passionate endeavours to be a man of broad-ranging talents. The tropes of birth, rebirth, and regeneration were as powerful for James and his contemporaries as they are today in Southern California. The idea that the New World offered a new life makes a direct link between the whole of America as a site of aspiration, and individual Americans. If this is considered in light of the concept of American Exceptionalism, it is clear that if American nature contains this multitude of fortunes, then so do all Americans who live within it. In this way, James's article can be

read as a simultaneously patriotic, aspirational, and self-actualised piece of boosterism. He goes on to compare the "kind" warmth of California to the extremes of other places:

> Mother Nature, as she features herself in California, is smiling, sun-kissed, flower-bosomed, kind, calm and serene, essentially endowed to become the mother of men. There is none of the stern hard-ship of the frozen North, the benumbing mugginess of the British Isles, the fierce heat of the desert countries, while she is ever varied, never monotonous, full of delights and surprises, a being of mystery and enchantment, she is seldom displeasing, harsh, or stern. (James 1922)

James suggests Mother Nature likes California so much that she smiles upon it like a favourite child. He uses the conceit that well-"endowed" mothers make strong men, and in doing so, connects inhabitants of California directly to the land. This means that all compliments and praise he shows the land, he also extends to his fellow Californians. James establishes "the North" as a hostile place in contrast to California's benign climate. He connects healthy wellbeing to a healthy environment:

> Where the struggle for mere existence is great, the major part of the physical energies are expended in protecting and providing for the body. If this expenditure of energy is kept within proper bounds, the struggle is beneficial; it produces health, vigor, abounding and radiating vitality. But where it is carried to the extent of exhaustion, or beyond the proper limit, it results in weakness, which retards the full development and expansion of the mind as well as the body. (James 1922)

Rather than simply asserting that wellbeing relies upon a good environment, James claims that the self and the environment are actually in a delicate balance with one another, wherein a certain "expenditure of energy" is "beneficial". If we consider what was established in Chapter 1, that early forms of self-help were presented as an elective activity, as well as a personal and patriotic responsibility, it seems clear that James is arguing for a symbiotic understanding of wellbeing and environment. To extend this further, just James posits that the "warm" climate of California produced healthy people, I argue that the "great men and women" of California created its metaphorically

"temperate" cultural climate. In this way, the lived experience of the area developed in tandem with its conceptual place-making.

James embarks on a vivid description of California's benefits:

> Her topography is so varied as to demand many pages to rightly present it. She is a topographical cosmos. Alpine peaks, that companion the stars, look down upon purple lakes quietly sleeping in the throat of extinct volcanoes; a thousand miles of shore, blue, rocky, wind and wave-carved, or sandy-beached, reach from San Diego to Eureka, a boundless ocean with a face of pearl, in which islands of Summer swim in dreamy content, mark her western limit. (James 1922)

James establishes his identity as a writer as being a position of responsibility to truthfully "present" California's landscape, with a link between the diverse topography and the number of pages he will write. He brings himself even closer to the landscape through the use of anthropomorphic descriptions — 'look down", "sleeping", "face", "swim in dreamy content" — and of course the metaphorical gendering of California itself. This trope, combined with references to "Mother Nature", implies that California is a whole complete world within itself, and separate from other lesser regions:

> Canyons with walls and towers, domes and points carved by glaciers in-to features of dominating majesty; art wastes of barren desert where mining sand-mountains, mud-volcanoes, and hot-springs attract and fascinate as much as stately palm; weird smoke-tree and ghostly yucca; a hundred of her Sierra peaks, over a thousand feet high, cleave through the blue expanse of sky, and scores of acres of her desert sink below the level of the sea; valleys, once inland ocean beds, are now covered with thousands of acres of golden grain, glinting and shimmering in the sunlight, or vividly green with ten thousand times ten thousand vines bearing their rich burdens of blue, amber, green, and purple globes of delicious refreshment. (James 1922)

James labours over an overwhelming array of architectural features of the landscape as though the entire topography is an enormous castle made up of "walls and towers, domes and points". He then moves on to list ever-increasing numbers of natural resources: "a hundred of her Sierra peaks, "over a thousand feet high", "scores of acres

of her desert", "thousands of acres of golden grain", "ten thousand times ten thousand vines". Finally he comes to the colour palette, to create an overall effect of abundance beyond measure or even comprehension. It is useful to compare this to Amy Bridges and Carrie Call's painstaking estimates of measurements in their diaries. While the scale and ambition is markedly different, the intention seems similar: all three writers are attempting to measure their environment of Pasadena via their own subjectivity, and through doing so, they assert their place within it.

As though to bolster his assertions, James even quotes his rival Charles Lummis, who appears to be in agreement with James on the motherly qualities of California: "As Charles F. Lummis has quaintly said: 'If Mother Nature is, indeed, as we see her here, broad browed, broad bosomed, strong and calm - calm because strong'". The link between strength and calmness can be connected back to William James's advocacy of self-care that comes from a kind of innate strength rather than overt exertion. I argue that in California, this concept of self-care was used to promote and ultimately define the region itself.

Above all, James extols California for its "out-of-doors" possibilities. In contrast to "elsewhere in the world", where it is "either too hot or too cold, James declares that "here, almost every day of the year, one may enjoy being out of doors". James paints California as a neutral place that is just pleasant enough to allow its inhabitants the energy to live a lifestyle: "California is essential an out-of-door land. It is the paradise for the real nature liver and lover." The phrase "out-of-doors" is notable in its acknowledgement of a domestic setting; James is not talking about wilderness like that of Yosemite, but of a day-to-day lifestyle that incorporated the outdoors.

Pasadena: Deliberate Culture as Place-making

The Machine in the Garden explores the American anxiety that technological advances were threatening a bucolic way of life that was engaged with the landscape of America. Through the case studies in this chapter I have sought to build a picture of Pasadena wherein technological advances such as the train and the automobile allowed people to access and experience the landscape in a new way. In Chapter 2 we looked at James Mason Hutchings's Yosemite Guidebook, where he asserts that highways were not just a means to an end, but a means through which to experience the landscape. Here we have seen how Pasadena fully realised this alternative approach to technological advances, in which they give rise to a whole new way of experiencing the environment.

Self-help, tourism, habitation: in Pasadena during 1880-1915 we have seen how all three activities fold into the process of place-making, and how this is interlinked with the making of self - and by extension, deliberate culture. Through the diaries of Amy Bridges and Carrie Call, we have seen how the processes of internal selfhood are continuously in dialogue with the building of external environments. The writings of John Muir and George Wharton James reveal how personal aspirations contributed to the place-making of Pasadena. The photography of tourists and residents act, then and now, as performative records of self-realisation via external environments from gardens to automobiles. In Pasadena in 1880-1915, the development of the city was historically parallel to the development of the phenomenon of lifestyle. But more than that; culturally, Pasadena was not just emerging alongside lifestyle; it was also shaping the creation of lifestyle as an ongoing performance. Pasadena's becoming was facilitated by deliberate culture, and so it became a place where deliberate culture could be enacted.

Conclusion

The circulation between the individual and the general condition in which they exist occurs as a repeated pattern throughout this dissertation. From Foucault's concept of self-care, to James's self-help regime, to Lummis's labour of self-fashioning, there is an uneasy truce between the universality of a prescriptive regime for betterment and the particularity of the individual. Each chapter of this dissertation is a reflection and exploration of this idea. Furthermore my general method of approach to the material has similar contours as some of the operations and narratives of the self that it has sought to describe.

This work ranges from literary analysis to cultural history. Within each of the chapters are narratives linked to design movements, food fads, intellectual picaresques, and residential development. Each area of focus has a prismatic effect, distilling from particular gestures the development of California's deliberate culture. Charles Lummis, Amy Bridges, Michel Foucault, and George Wharton James each describe as well as enact operations of what I term deliberate culture; that is, self-styled, self-documented performance. Furthermore, lifestyle as the phenomenon outlined in this study is the regular and generalized daily practice of deliberate culture.

The term *lifestyle* has become implicitly linguistically paired with California. A California Lifestyle is much more a part of popular discourse than say, London Lifestyle. Lifestyle, in its contemporary form as deliberate culture, emerged in tandem with and out of the material development of California. Thus the emergence of lifestyle can perhaps be best glimpsed prismatically through the material traces of early urban development in Los Angeles, and California more broadly. In the period 1800-1915,

private self-stylization became central to the collective task of placemaking. While the emergence of lifestyle in California culture is exemplary, these currents were and remain alive in other places. Other people, in other places, at other times have participated in a similar complex of personal and public operations involving work on the self. However, because California saw such rapid development during the period that lifestyle emerged in its contemporary context, it has been well-positioned to export lifestyle as a cultural product within a capitalist exchange of ideas and ideology.

Today California culture, and its attendant ideology consumed with the self and its technologies, is perhaps one of a few dominant Anglo-American cultural currents. California has been able to export ideas around the formation of the individual through self-reflexive labour. These ideas have been embedded within California's vast output of technological consumables. Contemporary operations of deliberate culture toward the formation of a curated self are now de rigueur in practices surrounding both on and offline identity. When taking a brief survey of the contemporary manifestations of the topics covered in each chapter of this dissertation, it is clear that the procedure of 'a regenerative inner self and mediated public-self', as mentioned in the introduction, has become multiple California cottage industries for global export.

As a concept, lifestyle runs across intellectual boundaries from academia to popular culture. Similar to Williams James's methods of self-energizing, the concept is not diluted by its dispersal but rather finds its generative force in the play between diverse generalized conditions. Today's practice of yoga in Anglo-America is a useful contemporary example of these imperatives. Yoga, in its Anglo-American form, has both commercial manifestations as well as spiritual and highly intellectualised aspects of the practice. Yoga has long been culturally adjacent to the concept of lifestyle by both

its promoters and detractors. Much like the term lifestyle, yoga sits at a junction between a number of concepts including self-care, consumerism, personal inner work, and public performance. It has become both a brand identity - for instance in the form of Lululemon - as well as a complex set of social and economic practices. While yoga in a contemporary Anglo-American context performs and represents a certain set of social and economic relations, part of its endurance and appeal is also that these relationships are hijacked by the stubborn intimate imperatives (claims) of the body. In yoga the self is always confronted with the corporeal body. This frisson between the construction of the self and the reaffirmation of the body gives yoga a syncretic allure to an increasingly atomised self. Contemporary yoga studios have many diverse forms but they share a common topography: structured around the studio floor, the yoga studio is both personal and a social space where the inner work of the self and the outer work of interpersonal relations and conspicuous consumption can simultaneously occur. In both contemporary and historical contexts, yoga is a revealing example of how lifestyle exists at the intersection between individual choice and a series of prescriptive conditions.

While the term lifestyle has become an umbrella word for various practices of the self, performance of deliberate culture has become central to contemporary self-conception. Each of the chapters in this dissertation followed the development of what is now an almost automatic routine of self-curation. Self-help literature and wilderness tourism are both operations of the self on the self. Both self-help and tourism requires a fantasy about the self that is first imagined, then enacted, and finally, ideally, memorialized. In the final two chapters, the enactment of lifestyle is seen as a successful route to self-actualization. This is particularly true of Charles Fletcher Lummis, and of the city of Pasadena: the urban development that his Boosterism helped

imagine into existence. In this way the operation of deliberate culture, which was so theatrically enacted in the wilderness tourism of Yosemite, found a home in Charles Lummis's El Alisal and municipal sanctuary in the residential development of Pasadena.

Today's wellness industry remains predicated on concepts that underpinned the development of self-help as a key element in the construction of lifestyle. Nineteenth century self-help literature's emphasis on the development of character evolved into the twentieth century's focus on the production of personality. This shift in self-help literature was predicated on the reader's dual responsibilities, both to work on themselves and then also to present this more perfected inner-self to the world. In the early twentieth century, work on the self was no longer a simple matter of cleaving to a strict moral guide that would take you on a path of righteousness, but now required the discovery of an authentic true-self. This bespoke inner journey is the main responsibility of the individual in William James's project of energy rejuvenation.

Cultural critic Micki McGee observes in *Self Help Inc: Makeover Culture in American Life* that this work on the self is a kind of "work without end" (McGee 2005, 142). The inner work of self discovery is never complete. Lummis's house El Alisal stands as a clear example of this ethos of "work without end". Certainly, Lummis's overt relish in the process of El Alisal's construction was central to the house's role as a site for Lummis to construct himself. Handmaiden to this idea of an inner labour that is never complete, is a relationship to time that sacrifices the present. For McGee, the promise of self-help literature is that one can "imagine one-self anew and then invent the life one imagines, that one can act on the 'before' to create 'the after'… In such a construction, the present is displaced at worst, and desolate at best" (McGee 2005, 146).

Contemporary self-help literature is largely animated by this displacement of *the present* with specific techniques of self-improvement. Beginning, as McGgee notes, with Eckhart Tolle's *The Power of Now* (1999), self-help literature claims to embrace *the present* as the site for the betterment of individuals, but counter-intuitively continually supplants it with the potential for a better future.

The mindfulness industry, a highly successful market segment of self-help consumables, can be distilled into a set of practices that seek to re-engage with the present. Most if not all mindfulness techniques and practices, from the puritan rigour of meditation to the multi-level marketing of aromatherapy, focus on reengagement with the present. While this may seem at first to be an affirmation of the present, often the techniques of mindfulness point us towards an endless labour for a future occupied by a better, more mindful self.

One contemporary example of this contradictory mortgaging of the present for a more perfect future is the very popular Headspace app. The mobile application was founded by Englishman Andy Puddicombe who, not unlike George Wharton James, decamped to Los Angeles to popularize techniques of self-betterment. Highly popular, the Headspace app offers a series of guided meditations with a stated goal of helping users to become more mindful. While any individual meditation on the application may help to lower anxiety and stress, Headspace uses gamification to incentivize repeated and increasing engagement. The model of increasing user engagement through a careful pattern of dopamine-inducing in-app rewards seems designed to lure the user into the cycle of expectation and inner work that is so common in all forms of self-help literature.

While each individual mediation on Headspace makes a claim on the user's present, the goal is always a more mindful future self. The individual user is drawn into further and deeper engagement with the app via its mantra of mindfulness and the company's portfolio of purchasable products. Ultimate inclusion in the Headspace community is through paid subscription. Once subscribed, the paid user has signed themselves up for a ceaseless labour of mindfulness: each guided session opens onto the next, with mastery always just on the horizon. The monthly fee becomes a downpayment on the promise of a more 'present' future. Nothing speaks more hopefully of the future self than a diet. *The Headspace Diet* (2013) is a dieting book that purports to use mindfulness techniques to achieve weight loss goals. This publication clearly exposes the use of mindfulness as the rhetoric of an reaffirmed present in the debased service of a more perfect future self. In addition to their trademark friendly model of ceaseless inner work and a renunciation of the present at the altar of self-betterment, Headspace offers its users that most seductive element of contemporary lifestyle branding: individuation through adherence to prescription regime. Just as the tourist may cling almost desperately to their printed itinerary in the hopes that they will not miss out on their share of sights and experiences of the tour, the Headspace user affirms the value of their individual experience by moving through a set of ready-made narrative frames.

Tourism also shares a commitment to both ceaseless labour and a renunciation of the present. In the quest for an authentic experience the tourist, perhaps more than any other contemporary figure, embodies the ceaseless task of perpetually running between the poles of difference and repetition. Difference in the form of the unique individual experience, and repetition as a performance of a predetermined

itinerary. As seen most explicitly in Yosemite, the guidebook established the terms and frame of an experience. However, the tourist is only ever validated if this unique - and thus authentic performance - is both represented and memorialised. Sites of touristic pilgrimage are created and become wholly dependent on the feedback loop between a site and the tourist's photography that sustains it.

From the planning of the touristic experience, to the attempt to capture the moment of imminent experience, to the cataloguing and memorializing of the experience once past, tourism is almost always a laborious exercise. Indeed, much of the actual touristic experience is taken up in capturing and representing the present moment for a future self. Furthermore, tourism exists in a time out of time, designed to be longed for and then fondly remembered. Wilderness tourism in particular barters on the same promise of imminent living that gives mindfulness its allure. From the early Yosemite excursions to a contemporary equivalent in the guided tours up Mt Everest, the anticipation of the tour and subsequent photographic and narrative representation becomes central to a tour's success. Mt Everest tourism is a pinnacle example - as, by anyone's standards, the experience of climbing the mountain has become an almost administrative ordeal of medieval deprivation. Despite having to wait in an often deadly mountain-long queue with hundreds of other climbers all the while enduring extreme environmental conditions, the promised experience of the summit and the narrative catch of having climbed Everest is more than sufficient to bring a steadily increasing stream of foolhardy amateurs.

The degree to which tourism performs many of the operations fundamental to the development of lifestyle correlates directly to the integral place that touristic experiences now play in embodying and performing our lifestyle choices. So important

is tourism to the construction of the contemporary self, that it has become central to the world's economy. From the populist British seaside holiday pioneered by the nineteenth century garment workers and the mills that employed them, to the rarefied bespoke travel of the capitalist elite, tourism and touristic travel has become central to the mass uptake of lifestyle as a means of self-care and self-actualization. Today, where and how we travel helps us to define our conceptions of ourselves.

For Charles Lummis, travel and regimes of self-betterment were central to the project of self curation. Lummis' lifelong fascination with Old Californio culture was born out of a holistic curiosity about the Californio style of living. From the architectural vernaculars of Adobe and extended verandas and open patios, to their cultural forms and daily rhythms, Lummis attempted to catalogue, preserve, and ultimately embody pre-Anglo Californio style of living. For Lummis this form of anti-modernism arcadianism offered Anglo-Americans a ready template of embodied aesthetics gestures that could operate in tandem with their new California homes. Lummis is an exemplary figure in the performance of deliberate culture and the resulting style of living, or lifestyle that he offered as a model to his fellow Anglo-Angelinos. In attempting such ambitious and grandiose acts of cultural embodiment, Lummis succeeded in enfolding popular culture into individual performance.

While Lummis dressed in clothes of a Californio and designed his house around a fantasy version of Spanish California, the atmosphere of easy living was always paired with the shadow of constant work. For much of his literary career Lummis worked from home in a bespoke office on the second floor of his entrance tower. Lummis deemed his place of work so significant he named it 'The Lion's Den' [Figure 18]. Lummis was so taken with his office that he would go on to adopt 'The Lion's Den'

as the name for his editorial commentary in *The Land of Sunshine*. The photograph of Lummis at work in The Lion's Den is just one example of Lummis nourishing the mythology of his own labour. The Autry Museum contains over five hundred images, many taken by Lummis himself spanning the thirty years of house construction. The performance of house construction and its photographic documentation were two of the primary functions of El Alisal.

In Figure 7 Lummis is posed in his work clothes for the building El Alisal. This photograph is one example of dozens of images of Lummus in various states of labour or rest from labour. His costuming is always immaculate, with obvious attention to layering and sartorial detailing. In most of these images Lummis, assumes the posture of a candid photo while his expression belies his control over the image. In George Wharton James's profile of Lummis in *National Magazine,* James notes on the subject of El Alisal that Lummis "handled over 2000 tones of masonry in its erection. This has been his gymnasium and explains his wonderful physical condition" (*National Magazine* 1912 vol. 27, 77-91). The house bears the scars of overwork, each beam is hand chamfered to excess, and the stones that line the base of the structure seem impractically heavy.

While *The Craftsmen Magazine* helped to popularize the idea that design should be determined by the ways of living according to local circumstance, Lummis modelled a particular rigour in the uptake of his idiosyncratic style of living. It remains a powerful contemporary conceit that the California Lifestyle of easy outdoor living is supported by an unseen commitment to ceaseless labour, often performed both in and for the home. Contemporary interior design, particularly in the twenty-first century mid-market segment, makes similar demands on the consumer. The consumer is asked both

to perform fidelity to a collective idea of good taste while simultaneously demonstrating their individuality through the idiosyncratic application of prescribed aesthetic gestures.

Lummis performs the act of cultural appropriation and transformation simultaneously, refashioning imitation as invention and in so doing building a completely idiosyncratic world for himself. In the final sequence of images in Chapter 3 [Figures 19-29] Lummis and a number of local Californio musicians pose for what is essentially the same photograph. Viewed as a sequence, these images make clear the essential operation of deliberate culture that Lummis repeated throughout his life. Lummis was first a journalist, ethnographer and collector. Lummis then took these collected materials and attempted to embody the values that he retroactively projects back on to them. These images demonstrate that while it was important for Lummis to photographically document these last musicians of Spanish California, it was equally important that Lummis himself enter, fully dressed in character, into their narrative frame. For Lummis, the development of his lifestyle was a process of cultural collection, curation, appropriation, and finally embodiment. While throughout his life his aesthetic gestures ranged from the built environment to ephemeral performance, Lummis remained caught up in a never ceasing process of deliberate self-assembly.

The idea of *the good life,* the guiding myth of early Los Angeles, was always a negotiation between escape and infrastructure. Perhaps no other place conjures this union of escape and infrastructure more than Pasadena. The Tournament of Roses, in which early automobiles were furiously bedecked in an overwhelming blanket of flowers, captures what William McClung observed as Los Angeles's impulse to return to an Arcadian garden, all the while parading into a utopian future.

The development of Pasadena is directly linked to tourism infrastructure in Southern California. Beginning at the end of the Nineteenth Century, tourism infrastructure originated with The Raymond Hotel along with the luxurious Pullman Palace cars of the Raymond and Whitcomb tours that shuttled its wealthy clientele from Chicago to Los Angeles. These early tourists soon became Pasadena's residents. Their early tourist predilections toward a fast-developing, highly mediated and framed experience helped make a performative lifestyle one of the city's defining characteristics. In Pasadena, the automobile was deployed not for utility but for leisure rides through the countryside. Tarmac was laid for promenading and parading while land speculators traced their business along dirt tracks. Pasadena developed as a city that was much more concerned with how you lived rather than your vocation. Elaborate front garden landscaping became a real-world affirmation of a whole set of shared values.

As a contemporary indicator of Pasadena's role in the cultural life of the United States, it is useful to look at one of its most well known exports: Trader Joe's. Founded by Joe Colombe in 1967, Trader Joe's is a highly successful grocery chain. Its employees wear Hawaiian shirts, its managers are called captains, and its signage vaguely evokes a pirate-themed adventure. Indeed, a shop at Trader Joe's is more a journey of discovery than a shop for basic groceries. Trader Joe's success can be linked to two techniques that find direct cultural antecedents in Pasadena's early days as a city built by tourism: novelty and curation. At any one time, Trader Joe's has about 3,000 individual products compared to traditional supermarkets that may have 35,000 products (Fortune Magazine, 2013). At the same time, Trader Joe's is constantly introducing new products and removing others. A shopping experience at Trader Joe's is

a highly mediated journey through a shifting set of limited and prescribed choices. While the individual shopper has the perception of novelty and choice, the store actually has everyone eating a fairly limited range of products. Contemporary lifestyle, as it developed in California and examined in this dissertation, operates along similar contours: the individual creates their unique self through the curation of a discrete and ultimately limited set of aesthetic gestures and practices.

In Charles Lummis's book *A Tramp Across the Continent* (1893), in which he documents his walk out to California from Ohio, he asks the reader "Why Tramp?" and in reply he answers,

> Railroads and Pullmans were invented to help us hurry through life and miss most of the pleasure in it-and most of the profit too…I was after neither time nor money, but life- not life in the pathetic meaning of the poor health-seeker…but life in the truer, broader, sweeter sense, the exhilarant joy of living outside the sorry fences of society, living with a perfect body and an awakened mind, a life where brain and brawn and leg and lung all rejoice and grow alert together. (Lummis 1893, 2)

In the end this is a private, individual vision of the good life, found in an interior private harmony of the self. Thus it is of no surprise that the highly studied lifestyles that emerged in California at the turn of the century are now most clearly traced in the private residences and the narratives of their construction that seem so central to their existence. Charles Lummis' house El Alisal is an example of the material evidence of a preoccupation with the inner work necessary for the production of the self. Crucially, just as Lummis's photographic collection is never simple documentation, lifestyle is always an inter-folded combination of building, collecting, assimilating, performing, and branding. The miles upon miles of Pasadena's rose encrusted

bungalows do not stand alone, but are both framed by and a muse for a narrative of which they are just one, albeit central, aspect.

Reyner Banham's 1972 film "Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles" begins with his arrival at Los Angeles Airport. He gets into a hire car, puts the key in the ignition and presses play on an audio tape. An American voice, the taped 'Baede-Kar', guides him through his tour of Los Angeles. While it at first sounds like a typical audio guide, it soon becomes clear that Banham has created the guide specifically for this moment in his own tourist narrative. This self-conscious interplay between life and style is central to the emergence of lifestyle — an emergence which is still ongoing today. That is, we can map the trajectory of the term *lifestyle* through spatial, historical, temporal, spiritual, and commercial journeys: from Yelverton's *Zanita* to Lummis's picture windows; from Dr Graham's cracker morality to the contemporary consumer's yoga practice; and from Carrie Call's nostalgic wagon holiday to today's Headspace subscriber. Deliberate culture is perhaps most clearly defined by its transitive, interdependent exchange between the self and its surroundings.

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